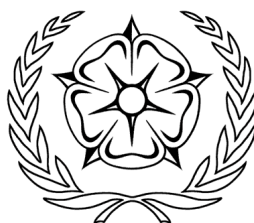


**A COMPLETE EXCERPT
FROM
THE GRAND BIBLE**

**FOURTH REVISED EDITION
2022**

**THE
ZHUFAN ZHI**

**(A CHINESE GAZETTEER
OF FOREIGN LANDS, 1225 A.D.
BY ZHAO RUKUO)**



**GUILDFORD
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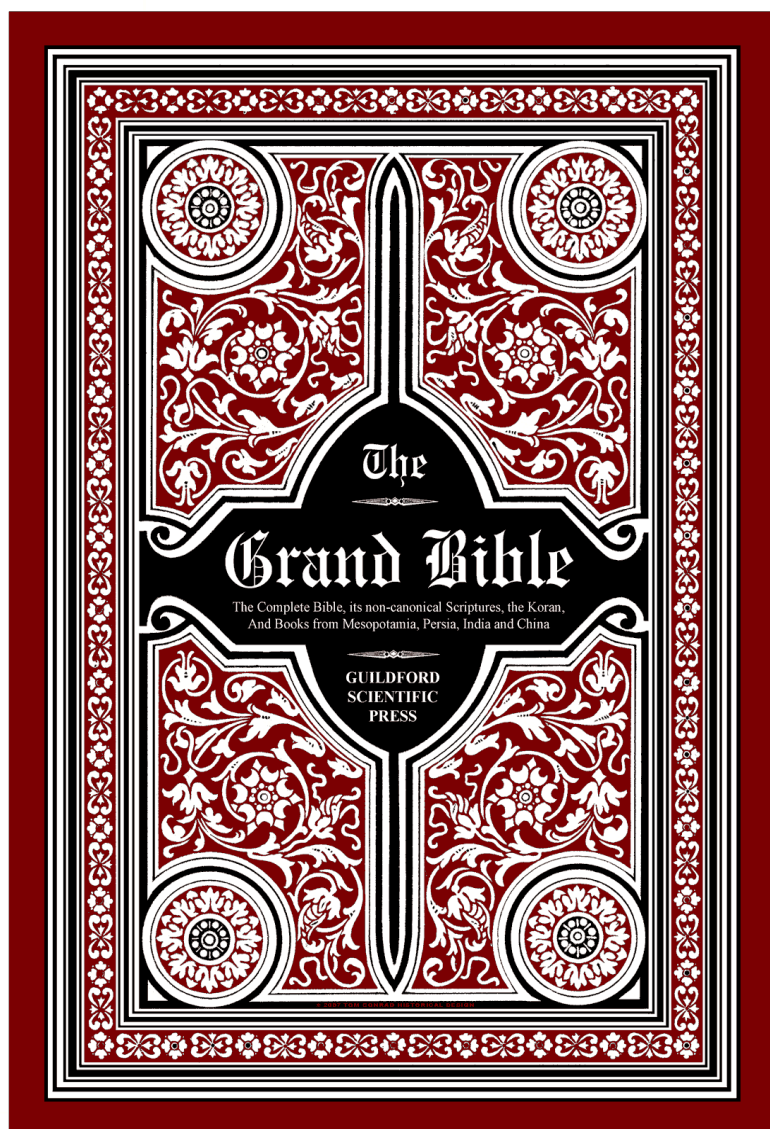
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Denomination of the Text: Chinese exploration of the West

ZHUFAN ZHI

(Wade-Giles: Chu-fan-chi)

Author: Zhao Rukuo (Wade-Giles: Chau Ju Kua)

A Chinese Gazetteer of Foreign Lands, 1225 A.D.

Siku Quanshu Edition

Translation: Shao-yun Yang, 2021

Estimated Range of Dating: 1224-1225 A.D.

(Zhu Fan Zhi (Wade-Giles: Chu-fan-chi), variously translated as A Description of Barbarian Nations, Records of Foreign People, or other similar titles, is a 13th-century Song Dynasty work by Zhao Rukuo. The work is a collection of descriptions of countries and various products from outside China, and it is considered an important source of information on the people, customs and in particular the traded commodities of many countries in South East Asia and around the Indian Ocean during the Song Dynasty.

The author, a Southern Song official named Zhao Rukuo (or Zhao Rugua, 1170-1231), gathered from earlier Chinese sources and from foreign merchants whom he had interviewed.

Background: The author Zhao Rukuo (1170-1231) was a member of the Song Dynasty imperial clan. He was posted to Fujian as a supervisor of the maritime trade in Quanzhou. He had never traveled out of south China, but was stationed in the major port city of Quanzhou as a supervisor of maritime trade. While working in Fujian, he had the opportunity to meet merchants from various countries from whom he gathered information on various countries around the world. He also took note of the various products traded, studied the maps of the period, and together with the information he had learnt. He composed this text in 1224-1225 based on the information he got. Zhao wrote: "Assigned to this post recently, I spend all day reading various maps... I listed names of these countries and their customs... I removed hearsay and kept facts. I thus name this book Zhu Fan Zhi."

Many entries of the Zhu Fan Zhi take information from other older works, such as Zhu Yu's Pingzhou Ketan from 1116, Duan Chengshi's 9th century Miscellaneous Morsels from Youyang, and other works. In particular it borrowed heavily from the 1178 work Lingwai Daida by another geographer, Zhou Qufei (Wade-Giles: Chou Ch'ü-fei). Nevertheless, the book contains valuable information on various countries and traded products of the 13th century to modern scholars.

Though the original book was lost, extracts were found in other compilations and annals, and its content was also incorporated into the

15th century Yongle Encyclopedia. Extracts from the Yongle Encyclopedia were then recompiled by Li Diaoyuan for inclusion in his collection known as Han Hai in 1781.

This is a very comprehensible and complete translation of Part 1 of the Zhufan Zhi (Gazetteer of Foreign Lands), an early thirteenth-century ethnographic and geographical description of nearly sixty foreign countries known to the Chinese through maritime trade relations, as well as a couple of imaginary countries that appear to be based on Arab myths. Some of the many repetitious annotations had to be shortened or omitted; instead we have added some modern names and explanations needed.

Content: The first volume gives a description of various countries and the customs of the local people, the second volume provides information on trade goods available from those countries. 58 countries and regions are given. The countries recorded include places and kingdoms in South East Asia, such as Jiaozhi (northern Vietnam), Champa, Zhenla (Cambodia), Langkasuka, Sanfoqi (Srivijaya), Java, Bagan (Pagan, Burma), and Mayi (the Philippines). Japan, Korea and Taiwan in East Asia, and countries in the Indian subcontinent such as Huchala (Gujarat, northwestern India), Nanpi (Malabar, southwest India) and Zhunian (Chola) are also mentioned. It also gives more information than previously available in Chinese sources on the Islamic world and their products. The country of Dashi (the Arabs) is described as an extensive realm covering many territories (24 given in the book) with its capital in Egypt, and included Baida (Baghdad); Wengman (Oman); Majia (Mecca); Jilani (Ghazni) and others. The furthest western state described is Mulanpi (Al-Murabitun) which included southern Spain. The Mediterranean island of Sicily (Sijialiye) is also mentioned.

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Translations: The only full translation of the text into English to date was published in 1911: Friedrich Hirth and William Woodville Rockhill trans., Chau Ju-kua: His Work On The Chinese And Arab Trade In The Twelfth And Thirteenth Centuries, Entitled Chu-fan-chi. The Hirth-Rockhill translation has been very valuable to scholars studying the pre-modern history of Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean world. However, it contains errors of interpretation and many of its annotations have been superseded by later scholarship. This is especially so in the case of Part 1 of the text, as our knowledge of the history and historical geography of many of the relevant countries has grown considerably since 1911.

For a recent study of the background and ideological ramifications of the Hirth-Rockhill translation, see Huei-Ying Kuo, "Charting China in the Thirteenth-Century World: The First Translation of Zhu fan zhi and Its Recipients in China in the 1930s," in Knowledge in Translation: Global Patterns of Scientific Exchange, 1000-1800 AD, eds. Patrick Manning and Abigail Owen (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018).

We present here the new annotated translation of Volume 1, which shows Chinese names in the modern Pinyin Romanisation and gives information on errors of older translations. It was published digitally by Shao-yun Yang in 2020. Part 2 is not translated. It is a kind of supplement that describes foreign trade commodities mentioned in Part 1 and ends with a description of Hainan island, which was under Chinese rule but still regarded as a semi-barbaric frontier region.)

SECTION 1. PREFACE by Zhao Rukuo

The "Tribute of Yu" records that the Yi barbarians of the islands came [to Yu], dressed in clothing woven from hemp, and presented baskets of silk woven with seashell patterns. From this we know that the barbarians have traded with the Central Lands (Zhongguo = Qin = Chin = China) since ancient times. From the Han dynasty on, the presentation of precious tribute from foreign lands has never ceased. In the Tang dynasty, Maritime Trade Commissioners were first appointed to attract traders, and since then the way of commerce has expanded further. In our time (the Song dynasty, 960–1279 AD), sage emperors have reigned successively and viewed humaneness and frugality as their greatest treasures. Wherever their civilizing influence has extended, foreign countries have presented their prized products, their envoys' languages so unintelligible to us that they must go through multiple stages of indirect translation. Therefore, our emperors established offices at Quanzhou and Guangzhou to manage the trade. This was only due to a desire to lessen the people's burden and support our dynasty's governance – in no way can this be likened to valuing exotic goods and indulging in extravagance.

I, Rukuo, was appointed to this post [as Maritime Trade Supervisor at Quanzhou, in 1224] and happened to look at a map of foreign countries on a free day. On it were marked such treacherous marine features as the Stone Beds and Long Sands, as well as barriers like the Jiao[zhi] Ocean and the Bamboo Islands (Pulau Aur and Pulau Dayang). But when I looked up written accounts, there was no mention of them. So I inquired with foreign merchants and asked them to list out the names of their countries and describe their customs and geographical features, as well as the length of the routes between them, the connections between those routes, and the livestock and produce of their mountains and marshes. I translated their words into Chinese and deleted the dross, retaining whatever was true. I titled this Gazetteer of Foreign Lands. Beyond the sea are tens of thousands of countries ringing the edge of the ocean. Of their precious and exotic products, such as southern gold, ivory, rhinoceros horn, pearls, aromatics, and tortoiseshell, generally all that are traded with the Central Lands can be found in this book.

Alas! We already have the Guideway to Mountains and Seas and the Comprehensive Account of Things. But since a superior man considers it shameful to be ignorant of even one thing, there was good reason indeed for this account to be written. This preface was composed by Zhao Rukuo, Grand Master for Closing Court and Supervisor of Maritime Trade in Fujian Circuit, on a day of the ninth month of the first year of the Baoqing era (1225 AD).

SECTION 2. JIAOZHI (Dai Viet, northern Vietnam)

Jiaozhi (Dai Viet), which in ancient times was Jiaozhou prefecture, has the sea to its southeast and borders on Zhancheng (Champa, southern Vietnam) by land. To the west, it is connected to the Baiyi (White-Clothed) Man barbarians [of Yunnan, Chinese province that borders Burma, Laos, and Vietnam]. To the north, it extends as far as Qinzhou Prefecture (southern China, near the border with Vietnam). Past dynasties maintained a prefecture here continuously, but the tax revenue from it was meager while the cost of defending it was highly burdensome. Our august dynasty, which cherishes the army and puts the people's welfare first, did not wish to continue deploying troops in this miasmatic region to guard a useless piece of territory. It therefore allowed Jiaozhi to be "bridled and haltered" (jimi) [as a tributary state] after its ruler submitted peacefully. *[This face-saving explanation for Dai Viet's independence glosses over the Song dynasty's failed attempt at reconquering it in 981. The Hirth-Rockhill translation identifies the Baiyi Man as the former Western Cuan or White Man people of Yunnan, while Yang Bowen identifies them as the White Tai of Vietnam and Laos. Fan Chengda's Guihai yuheng zhi lists the Baiyi as one of several groups living in the Yunnan-Guizhou-Guangxi frontier, suggesting that Hirth and Rockhill are correct. The Baiyi Man may have an ancestral connection to the modern*

Bai people of Yunnan. [Find: The Guihai Yuheng Zhi, translation by James Hargett, 2011.]

The king of Jiaozhi has a Chinese (Tang) surname. [The Lý dynasty, which began in 1009 and ended in 1226, used the common Chinese surname Li. The Guihai yuheng zhi reports that the dynasty's founder was a Chinese man from Min (Fujian); recent research suggests that he was the son of a Chinese immigrant from Fujian.]

The people's clothing and diet are roughly the same as those of the Central Lands, the only significant difference being that men and women all go barefoot. Every year on the fourth day of the first month, [the ruler] slaughters oxen and feasts with his officials. They celebrate the fifteenth day of the seventh month as a major festival in which families exchange presents and officials present livestock to the chieftain (i.e., the king). On the sixteenth day, the chieftain holds a banquet to thank them. [Note: Much of the above information is taken from the Guihai yuheng zhi, which however dates the festival as the fifth day of the seventh month. *[On New Year's Day, they make offerings to the Buddha, but not to their ancestors. On that same day, they will not take medicine if ill, nor will they light lamps at night. [It means that the New Year's Day and that the abstinence from medicine and lamp-lighting pertained only to that one day.]*

When they perform music, the instruments in the front row (i.e., the best ones) are covered in python skin. They are unable to make paper and writing brushes, so they buy these from the territory under the jurisdiction [of our Guangnan West Circuit].

This land produces agarwood, Penglai agarwood, gold, silver, iron, cinnabar, pearls, cowries, rhinoceros horn, ivory, kingfisher feathers, giant clams, salt, lacquer, and kapok.

They present tribute to our emperor annually. Our empire's merchants do not trade with this country, but it is listed first in our account to indicate that we begin it from the countries closest by. After roughly ten or more days of sailing from here, one reaches Zhancheng (Champa). *[Zhao Rukuo's claim that Chinese merchants did not trade with Dai Viet is technically incorrect, but he probably meant that private maritime trade with Dai Viet was not allowed. For strategic reasons, the Song government consistently excluded Dai Viet from most of its maritime trade system by prohibiting Chinese merchants from sailing to Dai Viet and restricting Vietnamese merchants to two ports in Guangxi (Qinzhou and Lianzhou).]*

SECTION 3. ZHANCHENG (Champa, southern Vietnam)

Zhancheng (Champa) is connected to Guangzhou by sea to the east. To the west it adjoins Yunnan, to the south it extends to Zhenla (Cambodia), and to the north it reaches to Jiaozhi (Dai Viet) and through it is connected to Yongzhou (Nanning). Sailing from Quanzhou to this country takes more than twenty days with a favorable (monsoon) wind. Its territory spans 700 li from east to west and 3,000 li from south to north.

Its capital is called the New Prefecture (Vijaya) and it has administrative divisions called counties and towns. They build city walls out of brick and reinforce them with stone towers.

The king, when traveling outside his palace, rides either an elephant or a cloth hammock litter (cáng) borne by four men. He wears a headdress of gold and adorns his body with strings of jewels. When the king comes out of his palace and sits to hold court, he is encircled by thirty female attendants who carry swords and shields or betel nuts. Officials attending an audience make one prostration at the beginning and, after all reports are concluded, make one more prostration before leaving. Women and men perform the same forms of prostration and salutation.

In cases of adultery, both the man and the woman are put to death. Thieves are punished by having their fingers and toes cut off. In battle, they form squads of five men, and if any of them flee, then all men in the squad are executed for it. If a Chinese (Tang) man is murdered by a native, the murderer will be hunted down and killed for his crime.

The people are fond of cleanliness and bathe three to five times a day. They rub their bodies with a fragrant mixture of camphor and musk, and perfume their clothes with the fumes of several aromatics burned together.

The climate is warm and temperate throughout the year, without extreme cold or hot seasons.

Every New Year's Day they lead an elephant through the streets and then drive it out of the city walls, calling this ritual "expelling evil." In the fourth month, they row boats out into the river for entertainment and crowds gather to watch the boatmen catching fish.

They consistently take the fifteenth day of the eleventh month to be the winter solstice. On that day, the prefectures and counties present local products and cloth to the king.

The people typically plough their fields with two water buffaloes. Among the various kinds of grains they have no wheat, but they have millet, hemp, and beans. They do not cultivate tea, neither do they know how to make rice wine. They only make and drink coconut wine (toddy). As for fruits, they have lotus roots, sugar cane, bananas, and coconuts. The country also produces ivory, the jian, chen, and su varieties of agarwood, beeswax, ebony, white rattan, kapok, patterned cloth, silk textiles, muslin, cotton matting, peacock feathers, rhinoceros horn, and red parrots.

The government supervises people who go into the mountains to cut aromatic wood and collects the wood as tax. This is called the aromatic wood poll tax and resembles the salt poll tax in the Central Lands. Once the government has met its tax quota, it permits the people to trade aromatic wood freely on the private market. They do not use money but simply barter their goods for rice wine and foodstuffs. By this means they meet all their needs for the year.

When one of the people goes into the mountains and is eaten by a tiger, or is eaten by a crocodile when traveling by river, his family submits the case to the king. The king then orders the high priest to use magic, reciting incantations and writing out talismans that are scattered about at the place where the person was killed. Then the tiger or crocodile comes by itself to the spot and turns itself in to await justice. It is then killed.

If a false and libelous accusation is made, and the officials cannot ascertain its veracity, they order both the accuser and the accused to pass through a crocodile pool. The crocodiles come out and eat whoever is lying, but will stay away from one who has told the truth, even if that person goes through the pool more than ten times. [A similar system of "trial by crocodile" is described in the much earlier Liangshu account of Funan: "They keep crocodiles in ditches in the city and ferocious wild beasts in pens outside the city gates. If someone is charged with a crime, he is fed to the beasts and crocodiles. If he is not eaten within three days, he is declared innocent and released."]

They buy people as slaves. Each male is priced at three taels of gold or the equivalent value in aromatic wood.

On the arrival of a trading ship in this country, officials are sent on board with a book made of folded slips of black leather. On this they write out in white [powder] the quantities of the goods. After an inventory has been taken, the cargo may be landed. 20% of it is claimed as tax, and the rest may be traded privately. If it is discovered that any items were hidden away during the customs check, the whole cargo will be confiscated.

Foreign merchants who come to this country can trade with camphor, musk, sandalwood, grass matting, parasols, spun silk, fans, lacquerware, porcelain ware, lead, tin, rice wine, and sugar.

Vassal states of this country include: the Old Prefecture (Indrapura), Wuli (Hue), Rili (the Nhật Le River, Dong Hoi), Yueli (possibly southern Quảng Tri province), Weirui (unidentified), Bintonglong (Panduranga), Wuma (possibly Amaravati = Quảng Nam province), Banong (unidentified), Rongpuluogan (Yan Po Nagar = Kauthara), Guliang (unidentified), and Baopiqi (Vijaya).

In earlier dynasties, this country rarely had contact with the Central Lands. In the Xiande era (954-960) of the Later Zhou dynasty, it sent a tribute mission for the first time. It sent its local products as tribute to our dynasty during the Jianlong (960-963) and Qiande (963-968) eras. In the sixth year of the Taiping Xingguo era (981), Lê Hoàn of Jiaozhi (Dai Viet) reported that he wished to offer up ninety-three prisoners of war from the country [of Zhancheng] to be presented at our capital. Emperor Taizong ordered the authorities in Guangzhou to hold on to the prisoners and provide them with care. Since then, Zhancheng has presented tribute without pause, and our dynasty has rewarded its admiration for

our emperors' sagely transforming influence by granting it generous gifts of ritual vessels, jade, and silk. Le Hoan defeated a Song invasion but immediately sought reconciliation with the Song emperor. *[He invaded Champa in 982 and sacked its capital, taking many captives, but the Cham prisoners presented to the Song in 981 must have been taken in an earlier battle. According to the Songshi account (SS 489.14080), Taizong ordered the Guangzhou authorities to give the prisoners clothes and food and send them back to Champa with a friendly message for their king.]*

After five to seven days of sailing south from this country, one reaches Zhenla (the Khmer Empire).

SECTION 4. BINTONGLONG (Panduranga, an ancient Cham kingdom in Vietnam)

The ruler of the country of Bintonglong (Panduranga) wears the same kind of hand ornaments and clothing as the ruler of Zhancheng (Champa). They make roofs for their houses with the leaves of palm trees and erect wooden palisades for defense. They present an annual tribute of local products to Zhancheng. [Panduranga corresponds to modern Phan Rang in Vietnam. It was a semi-independent polity at the southern end of the Cham cultural zone. Song ethnographers considered Panduranga to be a vassal state of Champa, whereas modern historians now generally interpret Champa as an alliance of ethnoculturally Cham polities with a shifting centre and fluid boundaries (the mandala model).]

There is a Buddhist arhat named the Venerable Bintoulu (Pindola), and his name probably refers to this land. "Bintonglong" is a corruption of the original name (Bintoulu). Some say that the foundations of Mulian's (Maudgalyayana's) home are still preserved there. In the fourth year of the Yongxi era (987), a mission from this country arrived together with one from Dashi (the Arab world), bearing a tribute of local products. *[Panduranga means "white god" in Sanskrit (the Cham-language version was Pandaran) and is one of the names of the Hindu deity Vithoba. The etymology of the Indian name Pindola is unknown, but it is unlikely to be linked to Panduranga. The identification of Panduranga as the site of Maudgalyayana's home was first made in Zhou Qufei's Lingwai daida (1178) and is repeated in several later Chinese ethnographic texts, but is wholly mythical. Some Chinese scholars have suggested that the myth originated from similarity between the Chinese name for Maudgalyayana, Mulian, and the term Mukhalinga. It is possible that a Chinese visitor mistook a Mukhalinga for a remnant of a stone house and misunderstood the term as a reference to Mulian.]*

SECTION 5. ZHENLA (the Khmer Empire or Angkor Empire)

Zhenla (the Khmer Empire, also known as Empire of Angkor) is connected by land to the southern part of Zhancheng (Champa). To the

east it extends to the sea, to the west it extends to Pugan (Pagan), and to the south it extends to Jialoxi (Grahī = Chaiya, Thailand). Sailing from Quanzhou to this country takes more than a month with a favourable (monsoon) wind. Its territory spans roughly seven thousand li square or more. Its capital is called Lugu (Nokor = Angkor, lit. capital city, also known as Yasodharapura. Angkor Wat is the vernacular form of Nokor Vat which comes from the Sanskrit / Prakrit name Nagara Vata meaning "capital city enclosure"). There are no cold seasons in this country [meaning: they could have 2 or 3 rice harvests per year]. Its king's clothing is generally the same as that of the king of Zhancheng, but his entourage is larger. When he goes out, his carriage is drawn by two horses or by oxen.

The country's administrative division into counties and towns is no different from that of Zhancheng. The officials and common people all live in houses of bamboo and thatched roofs. Only the king lives in a palace of stone. It has a beautiful granite-sided pond filled with lotuses and spanned by a golden bridge over three hundred feet long. The palace is magnificent and extremely opulent. The king sits on a throne made of five types of aromatic wood and seven types of gemstone. It is topped with a jeweled baldachin held aloft by poles of carved wood, and the screen behind the throne is of carved ivory. *[This description of the Zhenla king's throne is copied from the seventh-century Suishu description of Zhenla. Zhao Rugua presumably did not meet any foreign merchants who had seen the king's throne room. He thus had to rely on an outdated source.]*

When the ministers have an audience with the king, they first make three prostrations at the foot of the dais. They then ascend the steps, kneel, and sit with their hands crossed over their chests in a ring around the king. When they have finished discussing affairs of state, they kneel and prostrate themselves again before leaving. *[This description of court protocol is also lifted from the Suishu, but is likely to have remained valid in the thirteenth century.]*

In the southwestern corner of the city (of Angkor) is a bronze terrace on which stand twenty-four bronze* towers and eight bronze* elephants, each weighing four thousand catties (about 25 metric tons).

[This refers to laterite ashlar containing ferric oxides which gives this tropic stone material its bronze-like look; the ashlar made of sandstone also look like bronze but with a bronze-like patina. The text is generally believed to be a description of the Baphuon.]*

Explanation: The Baphuon is a massive temple pyramid that measures 120 metres east-west by 100 metres north-south at its base and stands 34 meters tall without its tower, which would have made it roughly 50 meters tall. The Baphuon is in the northwest quarter of Angkor Thom. Right between Angkor Thom and the Eastern Baray was another temple

pyramid like Baphuon; it is called Ta Keo and it is slightly larger. Its first terrace is 122 m by 106 m. The Ta Keo is a step pyramid of 5 terraces. There are 5 tower temples on the upper platform of which the central tower reaches a height of 45 meters.

To make the geography of Angkor visible we need to describe her main structures. With about 1,000 square kilometres (390 sq mi) in size and perhaps 1-2 million inhabitants, Angkor was probably the largest city on earth at the time. Angkor Thom, is a square-shaped area [c. 4 km x 3.6 km] surrounded by a wide canal. Today it is located in the centre of Angkor. However, at the time of the visitor, it was the western part of Angkor because the today's west-part of Angkor with the Western Baray was built later. A baray is a large man-made water reservoir. East of Angkor Thom was the Eastern Baray. The Eastern Baray reaches a size of 7.8 km by 1.7 km. The Western Baray reaches a size of 8 km by 2 km. With Angkor Thom between them; these two large barays spread to the West and to the East like the open wings of a bird. The Eastern Baray is the older one. At its northwest corner was the smaller Preah Khan Baray. The oldest structures of Angkor were built around Angkor Thom, the little Preah Khan Baray, and the Eastern Baray.

At the southwest of all these eastern structures, right outside and south of Angkor Thom is only one other structure that has been built already at the time of the visitor: Angkor Wat. And Angkor Wat is really worthwhile to be mentioned as it is one of the largest temples in the world. In fact, it is the largest temple complex in the world by land area, measuring 162.6 hectares (1.626 km²; 402 acres).

The initial design and construction of the Angkor Wat temple took place in the first half of the 12th century, during the reign of King Suryavarman II (ruled c. 1113–1150). The basis of that giant temple pyramid measures 215 m (705 ft) by 187 m (614 ft), it has 5 steps and on its upper platform stand 5 tower temples of which the central one reaches a height of 65 m (213 ft). Considering the archaeological findings, there is a high likelihood that the visitor did not refer to the Baphuon but to Angkor Wat.]

The country has nearly 200,000 war elephants. It also has many horses, but they are small in size.

They are very devout Buddhists and use daily shifts of more than 300 women to dance and present rice offerings to the Buddha. They call these women A'nan, which means "courtesan."

Their custom is to be sexually promiscuous. Adultery is not punished, while theft is punished by cutting off a hand or a foot or by branding the chest with fire.

Their Buddhist monks' incantations are extremely efficacious. Monks robed in yellow live in their own homes, while those robed in red live in monasteries and observe the vinaya strictly. Their Daoist (i.e., Hindu) priests clothe themselves with tree leaves and have a god named Poduoli

(Bhadra = Shiva) to whom they sacrifice very conscientiously. *[Most of this passage is taken from the Lingwai daida, except for the mention of Poduoli, which is derived from the Suishu. The Suishu claims that the king of Zhenla sacrificed human beings to Poduoli once a year.]*

The people of this country regard the right hand as clean and the left hand as unclean, so they simply mix meat broth and rice together, scoop it up with their right hand, and eat it.

The soil is fertile and the fields are not divided by boundary markers. Each family simply farms as much land as it can manage. Rice and other grains are cheap; one can buy two bushels of rice with just a tael of lead. The land produces ivory, fine zhan or su agarwood, coarse shu agarwood, beeswax, kingfisher feathers (of which this country has the largest supply), dammar gum and crystals, foreign oil, ginger peel, benzoin, sappanwood, raw silk, and cotton. Foreign merchants who come to this country can trade with gold, silver, porcelain ware, false brocade, parasols, skin-covered drums, rice wine, sugar, and fermented fish sauce.

Vassal states of this country include: Dengliumei (Tambralinga = Nakhon Si Thammarat), Bosilan (possibly Sóc Trăng), Luohu (Lavo), Sanpo ("Three Lakes," unidentified), Zhenlifu (possibly Chanthaburi), Maluowen (possibly the Kraburi River), Luyang (unidentified), Tunlifu (unidentified), Pugan (Pagan), Wali (possibly Myeik), Xipeng (unidentified), Duhuai (possibly Dawei), and Xunfan (possibly Chumphon).

This country used to have friendly relations with Zhancheng and presented it with an annual tribute of gold taels. But on the fifteenth day of fifth month of the fourth year of the Chunxi era (1177), the ruler of Zhancheng attacked this country's capital with a naval fleet. The king of Zhenla asked for a peace treaty but was refused and killed. *[The Lingwai daida section on Champa (published in 1178) claims that in 1173, a junior officer in the Song military was sailing to Hainan to take up a post but was blown off course to Champa. He observed that both Champa and Cambodia fought battles using war elephants and were evenly matched, so he convinced the king of Champa to use horse-archers. With the Chinese officer's help, Champa bought several tens of horses from Hainan and gained an edge over Cambodia in cavalry. However, a second horse-buying expedition to Hainan in 1174 was unsuccessful as Song officials refused to sell more horses to Champa. The Song huiyao jigao repeats the Lingwai daida account but corrects the date of the Song officer's arrival in Champa to 1171. It adds a record from 1175 that explains the context for the failed Cham horse-buying expedition: Song law prohibited the export of horses, so in 1175 the Hainan officials responsible for the sale of horses to Champa in 1171 were arrested for violating the law. The Song court also demanded that the Cham king hand over a number of Chinese captives whom his men had taken from Hainan as retaliation for the Song officials' intransigence in 1174. See Xu Song, Song Huiyao Jigao (Taipei: Xin wenfeng chuban gongsi, 1976), 197.7741.]*

Zhenla (Angkor) thus had a mortal enmity with Zhancheng (southern Vietnam) and swore to avenge itself. In the Jiwei year of the Qingyuan era (1199), they invaded Zhancheng in full force, captured its king, slaughtered his ministers, and massacred almost the entire population. They installed a man of Zhenla as king of Zhancheng, so Zhancheng is now also a vassal of Zhenla. *[The Cambodians placed on the throne of Vijaya a Cham prince who had defected to them, intending to use him as a puppet king. He later attempted to break free of Cambodian overlordship with assistance from the Vietnamese, but was captured and exiled in 1203. The Cambodians ended their occupation of Champa in 1220.]*

This country first made contact with the Central Lands in the Wude era (618-626) of the Tang dynasty. In the second year of the Xuanhe era (1120) of our dynasty, it sent a tribute mission to us. To the south, it adjoins Jaluoxi (Grahi = Chaiya), a vassal state of Sanfoqi (Srivijaya).

SECTION 6. DENGLIUMEI (Tambralinga = Nakhon Si Thammarat)

The country of Dengliumei (Tambralinga; today a part of Thailand) is to the west of Zhenla. Its ruler ties his hair up in a mallet-shaped topknot and wears hairpins shaped like flowers. He wears a red cloak over a white inner garment. He holds audiences in the open on a raised platform, as they have never had palaces. When dining, they use palm leaves as bowls and do not use spoons or chopsticks, instead relying on their fingers to scoop up food.

They have a mountain called Wunong (bnam, "mountain" in Old Khmer) on which stands a bronze statue of the Buddha entering Nirvana.

This land produces white cardamom, the jian, chen, and su varieties of agarwood, beeswax, and flame of the forest resin.

SECTION 7. PUGAN (Pagan, Bagan; today Burma)

In the country of Pagan (Pagan), the officials and common people all tie their hair into a knot on their foreheads with a piece of colored silk. But the ruler wears a crown of gold. This country has many horses, which they ride without saddles. By custom they are especially devout Buddhists, and their monks all wear yellow robes. When their ruler holds morning court, the officials all bring him offerings of flowers and the monks chant in Sanskrit to wish him long life. They adorn the ruler's head with flowers, and the flowers left over are given to the Buddhist monasteries as offerings to the Buddha. This country has a temple to Zhuge Liang. *[Most of the above passage is taken from the Lingwai Daida, but the mention of a temple to Zhuge Liang is a new addition by Zhao Rukuo. There is no other evidence of this temple's existence, but a late sixteenth-century Chinese ethnographer.]*

In the first year of our dynasty's Jingde era (1004), it sent a mission to present tribute together with missions from Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) and Dashi (Arabia), and the ambassadors were granted the privilege of attending the

Lantern Festival. In the fifth year of the Chongning era (1106), they again presented tribute.

SECTION 8. SANFOQI (Srivijaya, Sumatra; Indonesia)

Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) is located between Zhenla (Cambodia) and Shepo (Java) and rules over fifteen prefectures. It lies due south of Quanzhou. In the winter months, with a favorable (monsoon) wind one arrives at Lingyamen only after more than a month of travel by sea. Visiting merchants [must sell off] a third [of their goods at Lingyamen] before entering the country [of Sanfoqi].

Many of the people in this country have the surname Pu. [Pu, probably a short form of Abu, is attested as a Chinese surname used by Arab or Iranian Muslim merchants in Song China. Hirth was the first to recognize this usage, and he and Rockhill interpreted the surname's existence in Srivijaya as evidence of Muslim immigration.]

Their city is surrounded by a brick wall and is several tens of li across. The king travels in and out of his palace on a boat. He wraps his body in a length of plain cloth (man), and is shaded by a silk parasol and guarded by men wielding golden javelins. *[Yang Bowen argues that Zhao Rukuo uses the word "man" to transliterate the Javanese term kemben (or kembangan). This is unlikely, however, as the kemben was strictly female attire and men would have worn the sarong instead.]*

The common people live scattered outside the city walls or on rafts on the river that are made of wooden boards covered with reeds. They do not pay taxes to the state.

The people are skilled in naval and land warfare. Troops are called up on an ad hoc basis when a punitive expedition is needed and chieftains are appointed to lead them. Each soldier brings his own weapons and food. In battle, they are fearless of death and this has allowed them to gain hegemony over their region.

They do not mint strings of coins and merely use cut pieces of silver for trade. Their climate is primarily hot and seldom cold. Their domesticated animals are quite similar to those of the Central Lands. They have wine made from flowers, coconuts, and areca nuts and honey. None of these are made with fermentation starter, but one can still get drunk from drinking them.

For official documents, they use a foreign script and the king's ring serves as a seal. They are also literate in Chinese script and use it when submitting memorials to our court.

The laws of this country are strict and in cases of adultery, both the man and the woman are subject to the maximum penalty (i.e., death). When a king dies, the people mourn by shaving their heads. His attendants all willingly follow him in death by leaping into the flames of the funeral pyre. They call this "living and dying together."

They worship a Buddha called the Mountain of Gold and Silver, whose image is cast in gold. Whenever a new king is about to be enthroned, an image of him is first cast in gold as a substitute for his real body. Offerings in gold vessels are made to the image with great devotion. Both the golden images of the kings and the gold vessels are carved with inscriptions warning later generations not to destroy them.

When anyone in this country is perilously ill, he donates his weight in silver to the poor and needy of the country, believing he can thereby delay his death.

By custom, they call their king a dragon spirit (nāga?). They dare not feed him grains and only serve him sago, as they fear that otherwise there will be drought that year and grain will become expensive. They also bathe him in rosewater, believing that there will be a great flood if they bathe him in water. There is a gold crown with a hundred jewels that is extremely heavy. Whenever there is a grand audience at court, only the king has the ability to wear it; anyone else cannot bear the weight. When the king wishes to abdicate the throne, he assembles all his sons and hands the crown over to them, and whoever is able to bear its weight becomes the next king.

There is an old legend that in this country, the earth cracked open and a cave appeared, out of which came tens of thousands of cattle. They rushed into the mountains in large herds, and the people vied to hunt and eat them. Later, people planted bamboo to block the cave and the cattle stopped coming out.

This country produces tortoiseshell, camphor, chen, su, and zhan agarwood, coarse shu agarwood, lakawood, cloves, sandalwood, and cardamom. In addition, it imports pearls, frankincense, rosewater, champak flowers, civet oil, myrrh, aloe, asafoetida, costus, storax oil, ivory, coral trees (i.e., red coral), cat's eye gems, amber, foreign (cotton) textiles, and foreign swords. All these come from Dashi (the Arab world) and other foreign countries and are gathered in this country through trade. Foreign merchants who come to this country can trade with gold, silver, porcelain ware, brocade, twill damask, resist-dyed silk, sugar, iron, rice wine, rice, dried galangal, rhubarb, and camphor.

This country lies on the sea and controls a strait used by foreign ships. In ancient times, they used an iron chain as a barrier to guard against pirate raids. It could be raised or lowered with a mechanism. If a merchant ship arrived, then it would be allowed to pass. For many years, there has been peace, so the chain has been taken away and wound up at the water's edge. The local people revere it as if it were a Buddha, and when merchant ships arrive, their crews also make offerings to it. When it is rubbed with oil, it shines as if new. Even crocodiles dare not cross over it to attack people. If a merchant ship passed by without stopping to trade, then the people send out ships to attack it and fight to the death. This is why this country is a hub for maritime shipping.

The vassal states of this country include: Pengfeng (Pahang), Dengyanong (Terengganu), Lingyasijia (Langkasuka = Pattani), Jilandan (Kelantan), Foluoan (possibly Phatthalung), Riluoqing (possibly Cherating), Qianmai (possibly Lhokseumawe, Aceh), Bata (possibly the Batak people), Danmaling (Tambralinga = Nakhon Si Thammarat), Jialuoxi (Grahi = Chaiya), Balinpeng (Palembang), Xintuo (Sunda), Jianbi (possibly Kampar), Lanwuli (Lamuri), and Xilan (Sri Lanka).

[Malay polities in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula during the early Srivijaya period. Note that Tarumanagara in Java split into two kingdoms (Sunda and Galuh) after 670.]

This country has had diplomatic contact with the Central Lands since the Tianyou era (904-907) of the Tang dynasty. [As Yang Bowen notes, Srivijaya's contact with the Tang began in 670, but it was known to the Tang as Shilifoshi and did not switch to using Sanfoqi as the Chinese form of its name until 904. Zhao Rukuo's statement reflects the fact that he and other Song-era ethnographers did not recognize Sanfoqi and Shilifoshi as the same state. In fact, the early history of Srivijaya was forgotten even by Sumatrans until a hundred years ago, when George Coedès reconstructed it using Tang-Song Chinese sources and Old Malay inscriptions and demonstrated that Shilifoshi, Sanfoqi, and Srivijaya were the same polity.]

In the Jianlong era (960-963) of our dynasty, its ruler presented tribute three times. In the third year of the Chunhua era (992), its ruler reported that it had been invaded by Shepo (the Medang kingdom in Java) and requested that the emperor issue an edict to the country (Srivijaya) [pledging his support]. The emperor granted this request. In the sixth year of the Xianping era (1003), its ruler reported that he had built a Buddhist temple in his country to pray for a long life for the emperor. He asked the emperor to bestow a name and a bell on the temple. The emperor commended his good intent, named the temple Chengtian wanshou (Receiving Ten Thousand Years of Life from Heaven), and granted it a bell. In the Jingde (1004-1007), [Dazhong] Xiangfu (1008-1016), Tianxi (1017-1021), Yuanyou (1086-1094), and Yuanfeng (1078-1085) eras, this country regularly presented tribute without fail, and the emperors would immediately issue edicts to commend and acknowledge its loyalty. *[The break in tribute missions after 1021 was due to the Chola invasion of Srivijaya in 1025 and its effect of weakening Srivijaya's regional power for decades.]*

To the east, this country is connected to Rongyalu (Original note: Also written as Zhongjialu).

SECTION 9. DANMALING (Tambralinga, Nakhon Si Thammarat)

The country of Danmaling (Tambralinga; Sukhothai Kingdom, western Thailand) addresses its ruler as Xianggong (His Excellency). They have a city wall made of a wooden palisade six or seven feet thick and over twenty feet high. It is strong enough to fight on. The people ride water

buffaloes, tie their hair up into a chignon, and go barefoot. The officials' houses are made of wood, and the common people's are made of bamboo poles, with partitions made from leaves. The poles and leaves are tied together with rattan.

This land produces beeswax, lakawood, su agarwood, ebony, camphor, ivory, and rhinoceros horn. Foreign merchants who come to this country can trade with silk parasols, umbrellas, silk resist-dyed in the lily pond pattern, rice wine, rice, salt, sugar, porcelain ware, basins and bowls and other such bulky goods, and plates made of gold and silver. Similar trading conditions exist in Riluoqing (possibly Cherating), Qianmai (possibly Lhokseumawe, Aceh), Bata (possibly the Batak), and Jialuoxi (Grahi = Chaiya). This country gathers the gold and silver vessels that it gets through trade, combines them with those from Riluoqing and the other countries, and presents them all to Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) as tribute. *[Zhao Rukuo appears to have mistaken Dengliumei and Danmaling as two different countries, but most scholars now believe they were variant transliterations of the name Tambralinga. If Tambralinga was indeed responsible for collecting tribute from other countries for Srivijaya, this suggests that it had become dominant on the Malay Peninsula by this time. In the 1240s and 1250s, King Chandrabhanu of Tambralinga was even militarily strong enough to lead a fleet to the Indian Ocean and invade Sri Lanka. He conquered the kingdom of Jaffna but was eventually killed fighting the stronger Pandyan dynasty of South India.]*

SECTION 10. LINGYASIJIA (Langkasuka = Pattani)

Lingyasijia (Langkasuka; southern Thailand) can be reached by sea from Danmaling (Tambralinga) in six days and nights, but there is also an overland connection. The local ruler wraps himself in plain cloth and goes barefoot. The people cut their hair and also wrap themselves in plain cloth. The land produces ivory, rhinoceros horn, su and zhan agarwood, sheng agarwood, and camphor. Foreign merchants who come to this country can trade with rice wine, rice, silk resist-dyed in the lily pond pattern, and porcelain ware. They must first calculate the value of their product in gold and silver, and then engage in barter at fixed rates. For example, one deng of rice wine is worth a tael of silver and two gold coins; two deng of rice is worth a tael of silver, and ten deng is worth a tael of gold; and so on.

This country presents tribute to Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) yearly.

SECTION 11. FOLUOAN (possibly Phatthalung, southern Thailand)

The country of Foluoan can be reached by sea in four days from Lingyasijia (Langkasuka), but one can also go by land.

It has two Buddha images that are claimed to have flown there; one has six arms and the other four. When enemy ships try to enter this country, they are always blown back by the wind, and the local people say this is

due to the power of the Buddhas. The Buddhist temple is roofed with bronze tiles and decorated with gold. They celebrate the fifteenth day of the sixth month as the Buddha's birthday, holding large processions with music and cymbals. Foreign merchants participate in these processions too.

The land produces su and zhan agarwood, lakawood, sandalwood, and ivory. Foreign merchants who come to this country can trade with gold, silver, porcelain, iron, lacquer ware, rice wine, rice, sugar, and wheat. This country sends tribute to Sanfoqi once a year. Its neighboring countries, Pengfeng (Pahang), Dengyanong (Terengganu), and Jilandan (Kelantan) are similar.

SECTION 12. XINTUO (Sunda; the western-most fourth of Java; Indonesia)

The country of Xintuo (Sunda) has a harbour with a depth of sixty feet. Ships come in and out of the harbor, and people live in homes on both sides of it. *[now part of Jakarta or nearby. Either Jakarta Bay or Banten Bay would fit the description of a deep harbour.]*

The people also engage in agriculture. They build all their houses using wooden piles and make the roofs with palm tree bark. The flooring is made with wooden boards, and the partitions are made of woven rattan. Both the men and women go naked except for a cotton garment wrapped around the waist, and cut their hair short to a length of half an inch.

The mountains in this country produce black pepper. The peppercorns are small but heavy and are superior to those in Daban (Tuban). The land produces wax gourds, sugar cane, calabash, and eggplants. However, since there is no proper government in this country, the people are given to pillage and robbery, and foreign merchants seldom go there to trade. *[Both Sunda Kelapa and Banten were under the authority of the Sunda Kingdom, but this kingdom's political centre was located inland and its governance on the coast seems to have been weak at this time, as it relied on agriculture rather than foreign trade for its revenue.]*

SECTION 13 JIANBI (possibly Kampar, eastern Sumatra, Indonesia)

The country of Jianbi is at an intersection of trade routes, so many merchant ships anchor there. It can be reached by sail from Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) within half a month. It used to belong to Sanfoqi, but later because of war, it installed its own king.

The land produces tin, ivory, and pearls. *[The Lingwai daida mentions that merchants from Jianbi exported elephants and water buffaloes to Gulin (Kollam/Quilon) every year.]*

The people of this country like archery, and those who have killed many men wear tallies to flaunt their achievement and impress one another. From here, one can reach Lanwuli (Lamuri) by sea in five days. *[Exact location uncertain]*

SECTION 14. LANWULI (Lamuri)

The country of Lanwuli (Lamuri or Lambri was a kingdom in northern Sumatra, Indonesia) produces sappanwood, ivory, and rattan. Its people are warlike and often use poisoned arrows.

SECTION 15. XILAN (Ceylon; Sri Lanka)

Sailing with a north (monsoon) wind for twenty days or more [from Lanwuli (Lamuri)], one arrives at the country of Xilan (Sri Lanka), which is under the authority of Nanpi (Kodungallur). When one sails to this country from Lanwuli (Lamuri) and is about to arrive, one always sees flashing lightning and knows from this that it is Xilan.

The king of this country has black skin and curly hair. He leaves his head uncovered and wears no clothes apart from a wrapping of five-colored cotton cloth and red leather sandals laced with gold thread. He travels on an elephant or a hammock litter. He chews betel nuts all day and melts pearls down into powdery ash (for consumption). *[As of 1225 AD, Sri Lanka was divided between two major rulers, Kalinga Magha and Vijayabahu III. It is unclear which ruler is described here, but the wealth described in the next passage would seem to fit Kalinga Magha better.]*

His palace is decorated with cat's eye gems, blue and red jewels, agate, and other assorted precious stones. Even the floor he walks on is thus decorated. The palace has eastern and western halls, in each of which stands a golden tree. The trunk and branches are all made of gold, while the flowers, fruits, and leaves are cat's eye gems and blue and red jewels. Under each is a golden throne with opaque glass screens. The king holds court in the eastern hall in the morning and the western hall in the afternoon. Where he sits, he is often surrounded by a bright glow, presumably because the sunlight reflects off the glass and onto the jeweled trees, creating a shimmering light like the afterglow of sunrise or sunset. The king is always followed by two attendants with golden plates to collect the betel nut dregs that he spits out. The two attendants pay a fee of one yi (twenty taels) of gold to the state treasury every month in return for keeping the betel nut dregs, because these dregs contain plum-flower camphor and other priced substances.

The king holds in his hand a jewel five inches in diameter that stays cool even when burned in fire. In the night, it glows like a flame. The king rubs his face with it daily, and though he is more than ninety years old, his complexion is like a child's. *[Marco Polo's description of Sri Lanka also claims that its king owned an extremely beautiful ruby, a royal heirloom that was "about a palm long, and every bit as thick as a man's arm." See Marco Polo, trans. Sharon Kinoshita, The Description of the World (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett), 156.]*

The people of this country have very black skins and wrap themselves in plain cloth. They leave their heads uncovered and go barefoot. They scoop rice with their hands when eating and eat from bronze vessels.

They have a mountain called Xilundie (Serendib) that has a giant's footprint on its peak, over seven feet long. Another such footprint is found in shallow water three hundred or more li from the mountain. On the mountain are forests where the trees, big or small, all bend toward the footprint as if to reverence it.

This land produces cat's eye gems, red glass, camphor, and blue and red jewels. It also produces white cardamom, magnolia skin, and both coarse and fine aromatics. Foreign merchants passing through can trade with sandalwood, cloves, camphor, gold, silver, porcelain ware, horses, elephants, and silk.

This country sends tribute to Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) once a year. *[We have no written evidence of either the Jaffna kingdom or the Dambadeniya kingdom paying tribute to Srivijaya.]*

SECTION 16. SHEPO (Java, Indonesia)

The country of Shepo (Java) is also called Pujialong (Pekalongan). *[This section is probably a composite description of the kingdom of Kediri in central Java and its successor, the Singhasari kingdom, which had conquered it in 1222. Pekalongan was the political centre of neither kingdom, but may have been the primary seaport, leading foreign merchants to apply its name to the kingdom as a whole.]*

It lies in the bingsi direction (south-southeast) from Quanzhou. Departing Quanzhou in the winter months, one can take advantage of the north (monsoon) wind and reach this country within a month of sailing with the wind by both day and night. Heading east by land from this country, one gets to a sea where the water surface gradually inclines downward. The Country of Women* is there. Heading further east, one gets to the weilü (tail door), where the water in the ocean drains out. One is then no longer in the realm of human beings.

[Zhao Rukuo describes the mythical Country of Women later in the text. Zhao's mention of the Weilü is derived from Zhou Qufei's Lingwai daida, which contains a more detailed (albeit wholly imaginary) account of the oceans beyond Southeast Asia: "To the south of Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) is the Great Southern Ocean. There are over ten thousand islands in this sea, with people living permanently on them. The areas further south are unreachable. To the east of Shepo (Java) is the Great Eastern Ocean. The water surface gradually inclines downward, and the Country of Women is there. Yet further east is the weilü (tail door), where the water in the ocean drains out. One is then no longer in the realm of human beings. Heading slightly northeast, one gets to Goryeo and Baekje (i.e., Korea)."*

Sailing on the sea from here for half a month takes one to the country of Kunlun. [Since Zhao Rukuo does not describe this country, one cannot know with certainty what place he means. Hirth and Rockhill identified it as Côn Sơn island (also called Côn Lôn island), which is the Kunlun of the

Daoyi zhilue, or perhaps more generically the lands of the Malays (whom they believed the Chinese called Kunlun). In fact, in medieval China the label Kunlun was applied to all peoples perceived to have dark skin and curly hair; this included various Southeast Asian peoples and also East Africans.

"Kunlun" may be the country of Kunlun Cengqi described later in the text, which is "on the southwestern sea" and has been identified with the Swahili coast. But it takes more than two weeks to sail from Java to East Africa, and the text implies that "Kunlun" was to the east of Java and even further east than the Country of Women and the *weilü*. Yang Bowen therefore interprets "Kunlun" as the Maluku Islands, where in the seventeenth century, local rulers were known as *kolano*. However, Maluku appears to be named as *Wunugu* in the subsequent section in *Sujidan* ("Sukadana"). Zhao Rukuo was not always consistent in his transliterations, but it is unlikely that he would use two completely different names (i.e., Maluku and Kolano) for Maluku. The translators suggest four possible locations of "Kunlun": New Guinea (Borneo Island), Maluku (the Moluccas, Indonesia), Con Son Island (known as Con Lon, southern Vietnam), Swahili coast (Mozambique). The first three may be possible while the Swahili coast seems unlikely. However, there is a fifth candidate before Swahili coast, and that is Madagascar.

The key to this report lies, as so often, in language, geography, climate, as well as in superior technology. The native language of the people on the southeast Asian 'Ocean Islands' [that is Taiwan, Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, and all the smaller islands nearby] is "Austronesian". Perhaps, the northern coast of Mozambique sounds interesting but any Austronesian invaders would have been wiped out by the Swahili just as the Viking invaders have been killed by the hands of the American natives.

Now, the surprise is that Austronesian is also the native language of Madagascar which lies right before the coast of Mozambique. The question is, as usual: Why? - The only possible because logical answer is: the Austronesian people came to Madagascar by boat. The distance between Indonesia and Madagascar is roughly 4,000 miles or 6,000 km. The next question would be: How fast can a boat sail per hour? - The answer here depends on two factors: (1st) the average speed of wind and (2nd) the speed of the "Ocean Surface Current".

The ocean surface current depends on the geography under the ocean water as well as the rotation speed of the Earth. The Earth has a circumference of circa 40,000 km. Any location on Earth, nearby the Equator, rotates from west to east, 40,000 km divided by 24 hours, at a relative speed of circa 1,660 km per hour! This speed will not swirl the ocean water out of their ocean basins due to the Earth's gravitation, it has however a measurable effect and the ocean water makes roughly 0.02 m/s. Due to different temperatures of ocean waters, the South Equatorial Gyre (stream, current) can reach a westward speed even of 0.16 m/s

(average 0.11 m/s); and the Northern Equatorial counter gyre can reach an eastward speed of 0.12 m/s (average 0.08 m/s). So at a stream speed of only 0.10 m/s such a stream makes only 8 km per day. That is not much, but it is of considerable help in a large distance of 6,000 km! Most navigators in Antiquity knew the fastest streams and the best season to catch a stream of 0.60 m/s.

Besides the factors speed of wind and the speed of the ocean surface current, the Austronesian travellers found a 3rd factor: technology. So what is the average speed of a sailboat? Most sailboats cruise at a speed of 4-6 knots (4.5-7 mph / 7.2-11.2 km/h), with a top speed of 7 knots (8 mph or 12.8 km/h). Due to their extensive sailing experience, the Austronesian boat builders came up with the 3rd factor in determining the speed, and that is the technology of the latin sail and the shape of a boat's hull. There are two rules of thumb. 1st: The less of the boat is under water, the faster it goes, and 2nd: The longer the boat is, the faster it goes. Each sailboat has a maximum hull speed, which it cannot exceed (in theory). The hull speed is determined by the length or slimness of the boat (while retaining the hull's tonnage or capacity). In numbers, it looks like this: 1st: A boat with a hull of 26 ft (8 m) in length can make 6.8 knots (7.8 mph / 12.6 km/h); 2nd: A boat with a hull of 65 ft (20 m) in length can make 10.8 knots (12.4 mph / 20 km/h); 3rd: A boat with a hull of 144 ft (44 m) in length can make even 16 knots (18.4 mph / 29.6 km/h).

In consequence, the Austronesians invented the catamaran, a boat with two slim hulls (connected with planks on their top) that could glide almost "over the water." This enabled the Austronesians' expansion to the islands of the Pacific Ocean and even the Indian Ocean up to the eastern African coast. A catamaran type of boat could increase its speed to another 20% or more. So, a "normal-sized" catamaran of 20 m in length with a medium journey speed of 300 km per day could manage a 6,000 km trip in 20 days, if the wind is good at all times, the crew works in shifts day and night, and the sail is as large as possible. Even only half the speed and a journey time of 40 days could be considered a great success. So, some of the here reported short journey times are surely an exaggeration, but long and speedy journeys were a common Austronesian activity. This is why their civilisation spanned half the globe from the Easter Islands to Madagascar.]

Heading south by land from this country (Shepo), one reaches the sea in three days and can get to the country of Dashi (the Arab world) after sailing the sea for five days. [Zhao Rukuo's information on the sailing time from Java to Arabia was way off. Later in the text, Zhao noted (using information from the Lingwai daida) that it took sixty or more days with a favorable monsoon wind to sail from Lamuri (Banda Aceh) to Dashi.]

Going west by land from this country (Shepo), one reaches the sea in forty-five days. Going north by land, one reaches the sea in four days.

Sailing northwest on the sea for fifteen days, one reaches the country of Boni (Borneo). After another ten days, one reaches Sanfoqi (Srivijaya). After sailing another seven days, one reaches the country of Guluo (Kalah). After sailing [in another direction from Sanfoqi] for seven days, one reaches Chailiting (possibly Cherating). From there, one can arrive in Jiaozhi or Guangzhou.

This country has two temples, one called "Holy Buddha" and one called "Self-sacrifice."

There is a mountain where parrots are abundant, and it is called Parrot Mountain.

The king of this country ties his hair in a mallet-shaped topknot and wears golden bells on his head. He wears a brocade robe and leather shoes and sits on a square-shaped throne. His officials report to him daily and prostrate three times before leaving. When he leaves his palace, he rides an elephant or a litter, attended by five to seven hundred armed warriors. The people of this country sit down when they see the king and stand up only after he has passed.

Three of the princes are appointed as assistant kings. There are officials with the titles simajie (unidentified) and luojielian (rakryan). They manage state affairs together like chief ministers in the Central Lands, but have no regular salary, being rewarded with native produce and other items on an ad hoc basis. Below them are three hundred or more scribes to whom are delegated the administration of the cities, state treasury, granaries, and army. The military commanders are paid twenty taels of gold a year. The army has 30,000 troops who are also paid varying amounts of gold each year.

The custom of this land is to contract marriages without using matchmakers. The man's family simply makes a gift of gold to the woman's family to take her in marriage.

They do not set penalties for most crimes. The guilty party simply redeems himself by paying a fine in gold, the amount of which depends on the seriousness of the crime. Only robbery is punished with death.

In the fifth month, they go on boating excursions. In the tenth month, they go on excursions into the mountains either on hill ponies or on cloth hammock litters. Their musical instruments include transverse flutes, drums, and clappers, and they are also skilled dancers.

There are many monkeys in the mountains, and they have no fear of humans. When people call them with the sound "xiao, xiao" (i.e., whistling), they immediately come out. When fruits are thrown to them, then the biggest monkey comes out first. The locals call it the Monkey King. When it has finished eating, the other monkeys eat what it leaves behind.

In this country there are bamboo gardens where they hold cockfights and wild boar fights.

Their houses are grand and decorated with gold and jade. Visiting merchants are housed in guesthouses. Their diet is rich and attentive to cleanliness. The locals wear their hair loose and untied; their clothing is wrapped around the chest and goes down to the knees. [The Lingwai daida has a different description of the Javanese hairstyle, "The people shave their heads and leave their hair short."]

When ill, they do not take medicine but only pray to gods and Buddhas. The people have given names but not surnames.

They are impetuous and war-like and have a longrunning feud with Sanfoqi (Srivijaya); the two countries attack one another frequently.

In the twelfth year of the Yuanjia era (435) of the Liu-Song dynasty, this country once made contact with the Central Lands, but after that, it stopped sending missions. In the third year of the Chunhua era (992) of our dynasty, it resumed presenting tribute. [A Javanese kingdom (based in Pekalongan) did continue sending diplomatic missions to China during the Tang dynasty, but the Chinese usually identified it not as Shepo but as Heling, a transliteration of Kallingga. In the eleventh century, the editors of the Xin Tangshu recognised Shepo and Heling as the same country, but this knowledge seems to have been lost in the Southern Song period.]

This country's land is flat and well-suited for agriculture. It produces rice, hemp, millet, and beans but no wheat. They use water buffaloes for ploughing. The people pay a tenth of their produce as tax. They make salt by boiling sea water. The land abounds in fish, soft-shelled turtles, chickens, ducks, and goats. The people also slaughter horses and water buffaloes for food. Their fruits include big gourds (or melons), coconuts, bananas, sugar cane, and taro. They produce ivory, rhinoceros horn, pearls, camphor, tortoiseshell, sandalwood, fennel, cloves, cardamom, cubeb, lakawood, patterned matting, foreign-style swords, black pepper, betel nuts, sulfur, saffron, sappanwood, and white parrots. They also practice sericulture and have colored embroidered silk, kapok, and cotton damask.

This land does not produce tea or rice wine. Their wine comes from coconut palms and from the Xianao Dan tree, which no Chinese person has seen. They also ferment wine from sugar palm sap and areca nuts, and it is quite refreshing and sweet-smelling. [This passage expands on information in the Lingwai daida, which reads, "They make wine out of the sap of the coconut palm and the ta tree." The etymology of ta is unclear but it may be a transliteration of tuak, which is in fact the Indonesian name for coconut palm wine.]

Their cane sugar is red or white and very sweet. They mint coins out of an alloy of copper, silver, unsmelted copper ore, and tin. Sixty coins are worth a tael of gold and thirty-two are worth half a tael of gold.

Foreign merchants who come here trade with a mixture of gold and silver, as well as gold and silver vessels, five-colored resist-dyed silk,

black damask, chuanxiong, angelica, cinnabar, melanterite, alum, borax, arsenic frost, lacquer ware, iron tripods, and blue and white porcelain ware.

This foreign country exports large amounts of black pepper. Chinese maritime merchants, drawn by the prospect of big profits, often violate our government's law against the export of copper cash and smuggle it out for trading purposes. The imperial court has therefore repeatedly issued prohibitions on trade with this country, but the foreign merchants have craftily changed its name and now call it Sujidan (Sukadana).

SECTION 17. SUJIDAN ("Sukadana")

(This is a rather confusing section since the first half of it is effectively a continuation of the preceding section on Shepo (Java), but based on information about Shepo supplied by merchants falsely claiming it to be a different country called Sujidan (Sukadana). There was presumably a real country of Sukadana at this time, but it is unclear where it was located. There are two Sukadanas in Indonesia today, one in Borneo and one in Sumatra. The second half of the section digresses into a description of Tuban and the piratical inhabitants of the archipelagos east of Java. The translator has split this off into two separate sections for clarity.)

Sujidan is a subsidiary country of Shepo (Java). To the west it adjoins Xintuo (Sunda), and to the east it adjoins Daban (Tuban). It has a towering mountain called Baolaoan. Before they arrive, foreign ships always sight the mountain's five lofty peaks, which sometimes are covered with clouds.

The king of this country wears a turban of five-colored cloth and goes barefoot. When walking outdoors he is shaded by a black or white parasol and followed by more than five hundred attendants, all carrying spears, swords, or javelins. The attendants wear hats of various shapes, some resembling the heads of tigers or deer, and others like the heads of water buffalos, sheep, chickens, elephants, lions, and monkeys. Small flags, made of five-colored resist-dyed silk, are stuck into the sides of these hats. Among the local people, the men cut their hair and the women tie it into chignons. They all go bare-chested and barefoot, with only a cotton cloth wrapped around the waist.

When the people trade with one another, they use different grades of silver cut into dice-shaped coins. On the coins are carved the seals of their officials. Sixty-four such coins are worth a tael of trade-quality gold, and each coin can be exchanged for thirty or even forty to a hundred sheng of rice (100 sheng = 17-18 gallons). They use these coins in all other forms of trade and call it "Shepo gold." From this we can see that this country is none other than Shepo.

Their house architecture is like that of Xintuo (Sunda). The land produces much rice and other cereals, and their richest families have as much as ten thousand or more piculs in their storehouses (a picul is a

hundred sheng, or 17-18 gallons). They have a tree called the boluo mi (jackfruit). Its fruits are like wax gourds, but their skins are [spiny] like chestnut cupules. The flesh is in segments like the mandarin orange and its flavor is extremely sweet and delicious. They also have lychees, bananas, and sugar cane, all of which are similar to those in the Central Lands. The only differences are that their lychees, when dried, can be used to treat dysentery, their bananas are one chi long (12 inches), and their sugar canes are one zhang long (10 feet). When the sugar cane juice is blended with medicine and fermented into wine, its flavour is superior to that of coconut palm wine.

The products of this land are roughly the same as those in Shepo.

Its supply of black pepper is the largest anywhere. At the right season, and in good years, twenty-five taels of trade-quality silver can buy ten to twenty bags of their black pepper, each bag containing fifty sheng (8.5-9 gallons). In bad years, or when there have been enemy raids, the same amount of silver can only buy half that amount. The pepper-pickers are often afflicted with headaches due to the acrid fumes they inhale, and these can be cured with doses of chuanxiong. The local women use cinnabar in their cosmetics, to paint their nails, and to dye their clothing. Therefore foreign merchants generally use chuanxiong and cinnabar as the primary commodities of trade. Merchants are treated very well here and are not charged expenses for lodging and food.

This land is connected to Baihuayuan (possibly Pakuan Pajajaran = Bogor), Madong (possibly Medang = Madiun), Daban (Tuban), Xining (unidentified), Rongyalu (Hujung Galuh = Janggala = Surabaya), Dongzhi (unidentified), Dagang (unidentified), Huangmazhu (possibly Labuan Bajo), Mali (Bali), Niulun/Gulun (probably Gorom), Danrong Buluo (Tanjung Pura, location unclear), Diwu (Fujian dialect: Timat=Timor), Pingya Yi (possibly Banggai), and Wunugu (Fujian dialect: Matnuku = Maluku). These are all vassal states of Shepo.

SECTION 18. DABAN (Tuban; north coast of Java, Indonesia)

The country of Daban (Tuban) is connected in the east to Da Shepo (Greater Java), also called Rongyalu (Original note: Also written as Zhongjialu). [Rongyalu is probably Hujung Galuh, a port that was once the capital of the Janggala kingdom. It is now a part of Surabaya city and is indeed slightly to the east of Tuban.]

The inhabitants of this country (Daban) build houses similar to those of the Central Lands. Its land is flat and it has a harbor frequented by merchant ships. It produces blue salt (sea salt), sheep, and parrots. Its headman (fanguan) is a brave warrior who made marriage alliances with pirate states to the east. Those pirates use the pretext of visiting their kin to come here and raid, and many foreign ships have suffered the fate of being plundered. The pirates have even taken foreign merchants as prisoners and sold them as an exotic commodity, each captive selling for

two or three taels of gold. For this reason, trade with this country has come to a stop. (Original note: The pirate states are Danrong Buluo [Tanjung Pura], Pali [Bali], Sunta, and Gulun [Gorom].)

SECTION 19. PIRATE STATES

The countries of Dagang (unidentified), Huangmazhu (possibly Labuan Bajo), Mali (Bali), Niulun (probably Gorom), Danrong Wuluo (Tanjung Pura), Diwu (Timor), Pingya Yi (possibly Banggai), and Wunugu (Maluku) are all on islands in the sea. Each has its own ruler and communicates with other countries by boat. Their lands are mostly uncultivated and have many old trees, the insides of which produce sago. Sago is shaped like wheat flour. The natives mix water in it to shape it into round pellets the size of peas. These are dried in the sun, put into bags, and stored as a food supply.

They also use fish or other meat to make a broth. They are fond of sugar cane and bananas. They crush sugar cane, add a medicine to the juice, and ferment it into wine. They also have the weiba tree (nipa palm); when you extract its pith and squeeze out the juice, it can also be made into wine.

The local men are strong and ferocious. Their skin is dark and reddish, and they go naked and tattoo their bodies. They cut their hair and go barefoot. They do not use vessels for eating and drinking, and instead fashion dishes by tying tree leaves together and then discard them upon finishing a meal.

When the people trade among themselves, they only use sago measured in units of sheng and dou. They are illiterate and innumerate. They erect wooden piles to make platforms twenty or more feet above the ground. On top of these they build houses, the partitions and roofing of which are the same as those in Xintuo (Sunda, i.e., woven rattan partitions and palm bark roofs).

These lands produce sandalwood, cloves, cardamom, patterned matting, foreign cloth, iron swords, and other weapons.

Of these places, Mali (Bali) and Danrong Wuluo (Tanjung Pura) are the largest in area, have the most soldiers and horses, and have some literacy and numeracy. [Mali] produces lakawood, beeswax, fine aromatics, and tortoiseshell, and Danrong Wuluo has these as well. They generally do not make an honest living but prefer to go out to sea in boats and engage in piracy. That is why foreign merchants rarely go there.

SECTION 20. NANPI (Kodungallur; Malabar Coast in Thrissur district of Kerala, southwestern India)

The country of Nanpi is in the far southwestern corner of the world. It can be reached in a month or more from Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) with a

favorable monsoon wind. Its capital is called Mie'amo, which can be translated into the Tang (Chinese) language as "priest" (lisi).

Its ruler usually goes naked and barefoot except for a turban on his head and a garment around his waist, both of white cotton cloth, but he sometimes also wears a white cotton shirt with narrow sleeves. When leaving his palace, he rides an elephant and wears a golden hat draped with pearls and jewels. He wears gold bangles on his arms and gold anklets at his feet. His entourage has a banner decorated with peacock feathers, with silver and vermilion streamers hanging from the staff. Twenty or more men surround and guard it, followed by a procession of about five hundred or more women chosen for their strong physique. The women in front go along dancing, and all are naked and barefoot except for a cotton cloth wrapped around the waist. The women in the rear ride horses with saddles and have cloth wrapped around their waists and their hair tied up; they wear pearl necklaces and gold bangles and anklets. They rub their bodies with camphor, musk, and other aromatics and are shaded by parasols made of peacock feathers. The officials in the entourage ride on hammocks made of white foreign cotton, known as "cotton hammock litters." These litters are carried using poles coated in gold or silver, and go in front of the dancing women.

This country has much sandy ground, so when the king wishes to go out, he first sends out an official and over a hundred soldiers with water to sprinkle on the ground to prevent strong winds from blowing sand on his entourage.

The king has a very refined diet and eats from hundreds of dishes that are changed once a day. They have officials called hanlin in charge of the king's meals, who observe how much the king eats from each dish and regulate the amount to prevent him from over-eating. If the king falls ill from eating too much of anything, these officials taste his feces and prescribe treatment based on whether it is sweet or bitter.

The people of this country have a purple (dark brown) complexion and their ear lobes hang down to their shoulders.

They are skilled archers and also good with swords and spears. They are a warlike people and ride elephants in battle, wearing patterned silk turbans. They are particularly devout Buddhists. *[Zhao Rukuo confuses Hinduism with Buddhism in this passage.]*

This land is warm and has no cold season. It has plentiful food supplies of rice, hemp, beans, wheat, millet, taro, and vegetables, and food is cheap. They use cut pieces of various grades of silver as money and inscribe the seals of officials on them; the people use these for trade.

The land produces pearls, foreign cloth in various colours, and Tula cotton. *[Tula is the Sanskrit word for cotton.]*

This country has a brackish water river with many tributaries. The river is extremely broad and has cliffs on its sides above which stars often appear. The fine qi of the stars coalesces to produce small stones like

cat's eye gems. Their color is translucent and they lie buried in holes in the cliffs. Every so often, there is a flood on the cliffs and they are washed out. The officials then send people on small boats to collect them. The people of this country prize them highly.

Vassal states of this country include Gulin (Kollam/Quilon), Huchala (Gujarat), Ganpayi (Kanbayat/Cambay), Bilisha (Bharugachha/Bharuch), Maluohua (Malwa), Fengyaluo (Mangalore), Malimo (malimat in Fujian dialect, possibly Mahim = Mahikawati), Dunuhe (Thana/Thane), Yaliruo (possibly Aluva), and Aoluoluoli (possibly Amreli).

This country is very far away and foreign merchant ships rarely go there. A father and son, Shiluoba (Quanzhou dialect: Silopa) and Zhiligan (Quanzhou dialect: Tilatkan), who currently live south of the city walls of Quanzhou, are people from this country. *[Since the original text lacked punctuation, Shiluoba zhiligan could also be a family name shared by both father and son. The original Malayalam form of these names has not been reconstructed.]*

The land's products are exported to Jiluo (unidentified), Danong (unidentified), and Sanfoqi (Srivijaya). Merchants going to those places can barter for them using silk resist-dyed in the lily pond pattern, porcelain ware, camphor, rhubarb, huanglian, cloves, sandalwood, cardamom, and chen agarwood.

SECTION 21. GULIN (Kollam / Quilon, Kerala, India)

(Kollam is an old seaport and city on the Laccadive Sea coast of the state of Kerala, southwestern India. It is situated 66 kilometers north of the state capital Trivandrum. The city is on the banks of Ashtamudi Lake. Kollam has a strong commercial reputation since the days of the Phoenicians and Romans.)

Sailing from Nanpi (Kodungallur) with a favorable wind, one can arrive at Gulin (Kollam/Quilon) in five days. Ships from Quanzhou take more than forty days to sail to Lanwuli (Lamuri), spend the winter there [waiting for the monsoon to change], and set sail again in the following year. They take another month to arrive at Gulin.

The local customs are mostly similar to those of Nanpi. The land produces coconuts and sappanwood. Their wine is made of fermented honey and coconut flower juice. They are fond of archery and wear resist-dyed silk turbans over their chignons in battle. They use gold and silver coins for trade, each gold coin being worth twenty silver coins. The land is warm, without a cold season.

Every year, ships from countries like Sanfoqi (Srivijaya), Jianbi (possibly Kampar), and Jituo (Kedah) come here to trade, using the same commodities as at Nanpi. Many Dashi (Arab) people reside in this country. After bathing, the people smear their bodies with wild turmeric, probably to imitate the Buddha's golden body.

SECTION 22. HUCHALA (Gujarat; northwestern India)

The country of Huchala (Gujarat) rules over more than a hundred prefectures and its capital has four layers of walls. *[At this time, Gujarat was ruled by the Chaulukya dynasty. Its capital, Nahrwara or Anhilwara (modern Patan), is the subject of a separate section on "Nannihualuo," mostly copied from the Lingwai daida. Presumably, Zhao Rukuo learned of Gujarat from his informants but failed to recognise it as the same country as "Nannihualuo."]*

The people are fair-skinned (baijing). [The Gujaratis, as north Indians, are typically fairer in complexion than the peoples of south India.]

Men and women alike pierce their ears and wear multiple earrings on each ear. They wear close-fitting shirts and wrap themselves in plain cotton cloth. They also wear white ear muffs and red leather shoes.

The people are forbidden to eat meat. They have four thousand Buddhist temples housing about 20,000 courtesans who sing and present rice and flowers to the Buddhas twice a day. The flowers are tied together in round bunches with kapok thread, and about three hundred catties (about 418 pounds) of them are used a day. *[This describes the Devadasi [female ritual dancers] of southern India, a Hindu rather than Buddhist institution.]*

They have more than four hundred war elephants and about 100,000 troops. The king rides an elephant when he leaves his palace and wears a crown on the top of his head, while his attendants ride horses and carry swords.

This land produces large quantities of indigo, as well as flame of the forest resin, black myrobalan (hezi), and foreign cotton cloth of various colors. These products are exported to Dashi (the Arab world) for sale every year.

SECTION 23. MALUOHUA (Malwa)

The country of Maluohua (Malwa) is connected to Huchala (Gujarat). It rules over more than sixty prefectures and can be reached by land [from Huchala]. Its clothing and customs are like those of Huchala. It produces large quantities of white cotton cloth. Every year, about two thousand or more cattle are used to transport cloth by land routes to other countries for sale. *[At this time, the Malwa region was ruled by the Paramara dynasty.]*

SECTION 24. ZHUNIAN (the Later [Tamil] Chola dynasty, southern India)

(The Chola dynasty was a Tamil thalassocratic empire of southern India, one of the longest-ruling dynasties in the world's history. The earliest datable references to the Chola are in inscriptions from the 3rd century BC left by the Buddhist emperor Ashoka, of the Maurya Empire (Ashoka Major Rock Edict No.13). As one of the Three Crowned Kings of Tamilakam, along

with the Chera and Pandya, the dynasty continued to govern over varying territory until the 13th century AD. Despite these ancient origins, the period when it is appropriate to speak of a "Chola Empire" only begins with the medieval Cholas in the mid-9th century AD.)

The Indian (Xitian) country of Zhunian (the Later Chola dynasty) is in south India (Nan Yindu). To the east it is five li from the sea, and to the west it is 1,500 li from west India (Xi Tianzhu). To the south it is 2,500 li from Xilan (Sri Lanka), and to the north it is 3,000 li from Duntian. *[Yindu and Tianzhu are Classical Chinese names for India, both of which transliterate Hindu.]*

Since antiquity, it has never traded with us. The travel distance by sea from there to Quanzhou is about 411,400 li. To get to this country, one should change ships at Gulin (Kollam) and continue on, but some say one can also get there from Pugan (Pagan, Burma). *[The last sentence is taken from the Lingwai daida, and is partly inaccurate since Kollam was even further from China than the Chola lands. It is indeed possible to get to south India from Burma (Myanmar) by crossing the Bay of Bengal, but this route was not known to the Chinese due to their limited understanding of Myanmar's geography.]*

This country has a capital city with seven layers of walls, each seven feet in height. They span twelve li from north to south and seven li from east to west. The walls are a hundred paces apart. Four of them are made of bricks, two of them are of earth, and the innermost wall is made of wood. All have flowers, fruit trees, and other plants growing on them. The two outermost walled areas enclose the dwellings of the common people and are surrounded by small moats. The third and fourth walled areas are for court officials. The fifth walled area is for the king's four sons. The sixth walled area is for Buddhist temples where the monks live. The seventh and innermost walled area is the place where the king lives, and there are more than four hundred houses in it. *[This description of Gangaikonda Cholapuram, the Chola capital, is probably largely imaginary. Archaeological excavations at the city's ruins indicate that there were two layers of fortification, not seven. See S. Vasanthi, "Excavation at Gangaikondacholapuram, the Imperial Capital of Rajendra Chola, and Its Significance," in Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa: Reflections on the Chola Naval Expeditions to Southeast Asia, eds. Hermann Kulke, K. Kesavapany, and Vijay Sakhuja (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009), 96-101.]*

This country rules thirty-one clans (buluo). There are twelve in the west: Zhiduni, Shiyaluni, Luopiliepayi, Bulinpabuni, Gutanbulinpudeng, Guli, Poluncen, Bentijieti, Yanlichili, Nabuni, Zhegulin, and Yalizhelin. There are eight in the south: Wuyajialimalan, Meigulikudi, Shelini, Miduoluomo, Qielanpudeng, Mengqieliqielan, Palipaliyou, and Yalinchimengqieliqielan. There are twelve in the north: Boluoye, Wumolijiang, Zhulin, Jialimengqieliqielan, Qijiemalan, Wozhemengqieliqielan, Piliqieliqielan,

Pulinghelan, Baopalai, Tianzhuli, Lusuoluo, and Mimengqielan. *[There are actually thirty-two clan names on this list, which is presumably based on clan names or toponyms given by Zhao Rukuo's foreign merchant informants and is reproduced (with only two slight variations) in the Songshi section on the Chola dynasty. No commentator has succeeded in reconstructing these names conclusively into Tamil or Sanskrit, and even the punctuation is conjectural. However, building on suggestions made by Hirth and Rockhill, pudeng can be reconstructed as pattanam or patam (city), qielan can be reconstructed as kulam (family), and mengqielan can be reconstructed as mangalam (auspicious). Therefore, "Mengqielinqielan" might be Mangalam Kulam, "Wozhe meng qie lan" might be Rajamangalam, and so on.]*

Whenever a commoner commits a crime, a court official is appointed to oversee the penalty. Light crimes are punished by tying the offender to a wooden frame and flogging him fifty, seventy, or up to a hundred times. Severe crimes are punished by beheading or by being trampled by an elephant.

When banqueting, the king and four court officials first prostrate themselves at the foot of the throne and then play music and dance together. They do not drink wine but do eat meat. Their custom is to wear clothing made of cotton. They also eat bread. For serving food to the tables and entertaining guests, the king employs over ten thousand courtesans who serve in rotating daily shifts of three thousand.

When arranging a marriage, they first use a gold or silver ring as a token, and a female matchmaker takes it to the woman's family. Three days later, the woman's family meets with the man's to agree upon the amount of farmland, livestock, areca nut wine, and other such items to be given as a bride price. The woman's family in return gives a dowry of gold and silver rings, yuenuo cotton cloth, and brocade clothing to be worn by the bride. If the man decides to break the engagement, he dares not ask for the bride price to be returned, and if the woman breaks the engagement, then she must pay back twice the dowry. This country taxes trade heavily, so merchants seldom go there.

It fights wars with the various other states of India. The government has 60,000 war elephants, each seven or eight feet in height. In battle, the elephant carries warriors in a house on its back. These warriors use arrows at long range and spears at close range. When the army wins a battle, even the elephants are given titles to recognize their merit. The people of this country are impetuous and unafraid of death. They will even duel with swords in front of the king, fighting to the death without regrets. Fathers and sons and brothers do not cook their food in the same cooking pot and do not eat from the same dish. Nonetheless, they are very mindful of familial duty. *[The Chinese author mentions this custom as it has been customary for Chinese families to share dishes communally as a sign of their familial bond.]*

The land produces pearls, ivory, coral, clear glass, betel nuts, cardamom, opaque glass, colored cotton-silk, and kapok. Its animals include goats and cattle. Its birds include pheasants and parrots. Its fruits include the Indian gooseberry, wisteria flower, date, coconut, ganluo, kunlun plum, and jackfruit.

Its flowers include the white jasmine, the sansi ("scattered silk"), the sheqi ("snake navel"), the hibiscus, the liqiu ("beautiful autumn"), the blue, yellow, and green sal, the yaolian ("jade lotus"), the chanzi ("cicada purple"), and the shuijiao ("water plantain"). *[Many of these flowers remain unidentified. Their names may be transliterations from Tamil, but the individual characters seem to carry meaning as well.]* For grains it has green and black beans, wheat, and rice. Bamboo also grows well there.

In the past, it never presented tribute. In the eighth year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (1015), its ruler sent an ambassador with a tribute of pearls and other items. The translator summarized his message as, "With these, I wish to express my desire for your civilizing influence in this distant land." The emperor issued an edict commanding Shi Youzhi, the Audience Usher, to accompany them as a host and to accord them a protocol for receptions equal to that of the ambassador from Kucha. It happened to be the emperor's birthday, so the ambassador was given the privilege of attending the birthday celebration at the Qisheng Monastery and offering wishes for the emperor's longevity. *[The Audience Usher was an official responsible for guiding and presenting foreign envoys at imperial court audiences. The first part of this passage is based on the Lingwai daida. The second part is based on other sources and is significantly elaborated in the Songshi section on the Chola dynasty, including a full translation of the Chola ruler's letter to the Song emperor and an exaggerated account of the Chola ambassador's journey to China (which, he claims, took 1,150 days). A translation of the Songshi account by Noboru Karashima can be found at Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa: Reflections on the Chola Naval Expeditions to Southeast Asia, eds. Hermann Kulke, K. Kesavapany, and Vijay Sakhuja (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009), 297-299. Note that the Songshi states the Chola ruler's name as Luochaluozha, which corresponds to the great Chola king Rajaraja I. Rajaraja died in 1014 but presumably despatched the mission to China before his death.]*

In the tenth year of the Xining era (1077), they again sent tribute. Emperor Shenzong sent a eunuch palace attendant to welcome them.

SECTION 25. WANGSHECHENG (Rājagṛiha / Rajgir; Bihar, northeastern India)

(Rajgir (historically known as Girivraj) is an ancient city and a municipal council in Nalanda district in the Indian state of Bihar, the land of Mahavira and Buddha. The city of Rajgir (ancient Rajagṛha; Pali: Rajagaha) was the first capital of the kingdom of Magadha, a state that would

eventually evolve into the Mauryan Empire. The city finds mention in India's greatest literary epic, the Mahabharata, through its king Jarasandha. Its date of origin is unknown, although ceramics dating to about 1000 BC have been found in the city. The 2,500-year old Cyclopean Wall is located in the city. This area is also notable in Jainism and Buddhism. It was the birthplace of the 20th Jain Tirthankar Munisuvrata, and is closely associated with Mahavira and Gautama Buddha. Both Mahavira and Buddha taught their beliefs in Rajgir during the 6th and 5th century BC, and the Buddha was offered a forest monastery here by king Bimbisara. As such, the city of Rajgir became one of the Buddha's most important preaching locations.)

As for countries like Nannihualuo (Nahrwara/Patan), there are no less than a hundred that are called by the name "India" (Xitian). Then there is the so-called Wangshecheng ("City of the King's Abode," Rājagṛiha/Rajgir). It is said that it takes no more than forty days to get there by traveling north from Jiaozhi (Dai Viet) to Dali (Yunnan), then traveling west from Dali to Wangshe cheng. Jia Dan's Account of Routes Taken by Imperial Ambassadors to the Barbarians (Huanghua sida ji) does state that there is an overland route from Annan (north Vietnam) to Tianzhu (India). However, Bodhidharma came by sailing on the sea to Guangzhou. Was this not because the land route is circuitous and not as fast and convenient as the sea route?

Zhou Qufei claimed that he had heard of the forty-day land route from Jiaozhi to Wangshecheng via Dali, but did not identify his informant. The Chinese knew of the existence of overland trade routes between north India and Yunnan as early as the Han dynasty, but unfamiliarity with the mountainous terrain had prevented Chinese merchants and ambassadors from making much use of this "southwestern Silk Route." The Song dynasty's cool relations with the Dali and Dai Viet kingdoms only made the route even more impractical. Travel by sea may have been slower, but it was probably safer (albeit still risky) and allowed the transportation of larger quantities of goods.

SECTION 26. PENGQIELUO (Bengal)

The Indian (Xitian) country of Pengqieluo (Bengal) has a capital called Chanaji (Lakhnauti), the walls of which stretch over a circuit of 120 li. The people are combative and competitive and devote themselves to banditry. They grind white conch shells into coins. The land produces jeweled swords and Tula cotton. Some say that Buddhism began here, and that the Tang Tripiṭaka Master Xuanzang once came here in search of Buddhist scriptures. *[The Buddha is not known to have lived in or traveled to the Bengal region, so Zhao Rukuo is misinformed here. But Xuanzang did go to Bengal during his famous travels in India, and his description of the region remains a very important source for its early*

history. Xuanzang (fl. 602 – 664), born Chen Hui / Chen Yi, was a Chinese Buddhist scholar, traveler, translator, and monk who traveled to India in the 7th century and described the interaction between Chinese Buddhism and Indian Buddhism during the reign of Harsha. During the journey he visited many sacred Buddhist sites in what are now India, Nepal, Pakistan and Bangladesh.]

SECTION 27. NANNIHUALUO (Nahrwara / Patan)

(Patan was established in 8th century as "Anahilapataka" by Vanraja Chavada, a king of the Chavda dynasty (c. 690–942), who ruled Gujarat from c. 746 AD to c. 780 AD. During 10th-13th century, the city served as the capital of the Cha(u)lukya dynasty (c. 940–1244 AD), who supplanted the Chavdas. Patan is built on this ancient city or nearby and was the tenth-largest city in the world in the year 1000 AD, with a population of approximately 100,000. The Mohammedan general and later Sultan of Delhi Qutb-ud-din Aybak sacked the city between 1200 and 1210, and it was destroyed by the Allauddin Khilji in 1298.)*

The Indian (Xitian) country of Nannihualuo (Nahrwara / Patan) has a capital city with three layers of walls. The people take baths in the morning and the evening and rub wild turmeric powder on their bodies to imitate the Buddha's golden body. *[Much of Zhao Rukuo's section on Nannihualuo is adapted from the Lingwai daida; he was unaware that Nahrwara was the capital of the Chaulukya state of Gujarat and therefore did not require its own section. On the use of wild turmeric as a cosmetic treatment, misinterpreted by Zhou Qufei and Zhao Rukuo as a Buddhist ritual, see the section on Gulin (Kollam/Quilon) above.]*

Many of the people call themselves Brahmins and consider themselves true descendants of the Buddha. [This again reflects a Chinese tendency to conflate Buddhism and Hinduism when interpreting Indian culture. The Brahmins of Gujarat include the Sompura and Sachora castes.]

They smear the walls of their houses and their sitting mats with cow dung, seeing it as an exalted and purifying substance. In their houses, they erect altars three feet tall that are approached by climbing three steps. Every morning, they burn incense and place flowers on the altar, calling them offerings to the Buddha. [The Lingwai daida notes that the home altars or shrines are also smeared with cow dung each morning.]

When Dashi (Arab) foreigners come to this country, they are made to sit outside the door, housed in separate quarters, and provided with their own bedding and eating utensils. *[This was probably due to Brahmin concerns about ritual pollution.]*

When their women are found committing adultery, they are killed immediately, and the government does not get involved.

The land produces high-quality costus and fine white flower-pistil cotton cloth. The people mostly eat butter (ghee), rice, beans, and vegetables, and rarely eat fish or meat.

This country is connected to the Western Regions (Central Asia) by land routes. When light cavalry from the Western Regions suddenly come raiding, the people of this country simply close the city gates and hold out. After several days, the raiders run out of supplies and withdraw.

[Since the 7th century AD, when the first Muslim hordes arrived from Arabia at the borders of the Indian kingdoms, the states Gujarat, Rajasthan, Punjab, and Kashmir were at the forefront in the fight against Islam and its doctrine of world hegemony and subjugation*. In 654, Abdulrehman ibn Samrah, governor of Sistan and the newly emerged Rashidun caliphate at the expense of Sassanid Persia and the Byzantine Empire, sent an Islamic army to crush a revolt in Zaranj, which is now in southern Afghanistan. After conquering Zaranj, a column of the army pushed north, conquering Kabul and Ghazni, in the Hindu Kush mountain range, while another column moved through Quetta District in north-western Balochistan and conquered the area up to the ancient cities of Dawar and Qandabil (Bolan). It is documented that the major settlements, falling within today's province, became in 654 controlled by the Rashidun caliphate, except for the well-defended mountain town of QaiQan which is now Kalat.*

The Muslims launched several campaigns in eastern Balochistan between 661–681 AD, four Arab commanders were killed during the campaigns, but Sinan b. Salma managed to conquer parts of Makran including the Chagai area, and establish a permanent base of operations in 673 AD. Rashid b. Amr, the next governor of Makran, subdued Mashkey in 672 AD, Munzir b. Jarood Al Abadi managed to garrison Kikan and conquer Buqan by 681 AD, while Ibn Harri Al Bahili, conducted several campaigns to secure the Arab hold on Kikan, Makran and Buqan by 683 AD. Zunbil saw off Arab campaigns in 668, 672 and 673 AD by paying tribute, although Arabs occupied the areas south of Helmand in 673 AD permanently Zunbil defeated Yazid b. Salm's army in 681 AD at Junzah, and Arabs had to pay 500,000 dirhams to ransom their prisoners, but the Arabs defeated and killed Zunbil in Sistan in 685. The Arabs, however, were defeated in Zabul in next invaded Zabul in 693 AD. During the caliphate of Ali, a revolt broke out in southern Balochistan's Makran region. In 663, during the reign of Umayyad Caliph Muawiyah I, his Muslim rule lost control of north-eastern Balochistan and Kalat when Haris ibn Marah and a large part of his army died in battle against a revolt in Kalat.

Junaid b. Abd Al Rahman Al Marri became the governor of Sindh in 723 AD. Secured Debal, then defeat and killed Jai Singh secured Sindh and Southern Punjab and stormed Al Kiraj (Kangra valley) in 724 AD. Junaid next attacked a number of Hindu kingdoms in what is now Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh aiming at permanent conquest, but the chronology and area of operation of the campaigns during 725–743 AD is difficult to follow because accurate, complete information is lacking. The Arabs moved east from Sindh in several detachments and probably from

attacked from both the land and the sea, occupying Mirmad (Marumada, in Jaisalmer), Al-Mandal (perhaps Okhamandal in Gujarat) or Marwar, and Dahnaj, not identified, al-Baylaman (Bhilmal) and Jurz (Gurjara country—north Gujarat and southern Rajasthan). and attacking Barwas (Broach), sacking Vallabhi. Gurjara king Siluka repelled Arabs from "Stravani and Valla", probably the area North of Jaisalmer and Jodhpur, and the invasion of Malwa but were ultimately defeated by Bappa Rawal and Nagabhata I in 725 AD near Ujjain. Arabs lost control over the newly conquered territories and Sindh due to Arab tribal infighting and Arab soldiers deserting the newly conquered territory in 731 AD.

When the Abbasid Revolution overthrew the Umayyads in 750 AD after the Third Fitna, Sindh became independent and was captured by Musa b. K'ab al Tamimi in 752 AD. Zunbil had defeated the Arabs in 728 AD, and saw off two Abbasid invasions in 769 and 785 AD. Abbasids attacked Kabul several times and collected tribute between 787 and 815 AD and extracted tribute after each campaign. Abbasid Governor of Sindh, Hisham (7 in office 768–773 AD) raided Kashmir, recaptured parts of Punjab from Karkota control, and launched naval raids against ports of Gujarat in 758 and 770 AD, which like other Abbasid Naval raids launched of 776 and 779 AD, gained no territory. Arabs occupied Sindian (Southern Kutch) in 810 AD, only to lose it in 841 AD. Civil war erupted in Sindh in 842 AD, and the Habbari dynasty occupied Mansurah, and by 871, five independent principalities emerged, with the Banu Habbari clan controlling in Mansurah, Banu Munabbih occupying Multan, Banu Madan ruling in Makran, with Makshey and Turan falling to other rulers, all outside direct Caliphate control.

Under Sabuktigin, Ghaznavid Empire found itself in conflict with the Kabul Shahi Raja Jayapala in the east. When Sabuktigin died and his son Mahmud ascended the throne in 998, Ghazni was engaged in the North with the Qarakhanids when the Shahi Raja renewed hostilities in east once again. In the early 11th century, Mahmud of Ghazni launched seventeen expeditions into Indian subcontinent. In 1001, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni defeated Raja Jayapala of the Hindu Shahi Dynasty of Gandhara (in modern Afghanistan), in the Battle of Peshawar and marched further west of Peshawar (in modern Pakistan) and, in 1005, made it the centre for his forces. Al Biruni (973–1051 AD, an Iranian scholar) reported (in c. 1030 AD) on the devastation caused during the conquest of Gandhara and much of northwest India by Mahmud of Ghazni following his defeat of Jayapala in the Battle of Peshawar at Peshawar in 1001.

Muslim conquests in the Indian subcontinent mainly took place from the 12th to the 16th centuries. After the capture of Lahore and the end of the Ghaznavids, the Ghurid Empire ruled by Muhammad of Ghor and Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad laid the foundation of Muslim rule in India. In 1206,

Bakhtiyar Khalji led the Muslim conquest of Bengal, marking the easternmost expansion of Islam at the time.

Informed about civil war in South Asia, Timur began a trek starting in 1398 to invade the reigning Sultan Nasir-u Din Mehmud of the Tughlaq Dynasty in the north Indian city of Delhi. His campaign was politically pretexted that the Muslim Delhi Sultanate was too tolerant toward its "Hindu" subjects, but that could not mask the real reason being to amass the wealth of the Delhi Sultanate. Timur bin Taraghay Barlas, known in the West as Tamerlane or "Timur the lame", was a ruthless Muslim warlord of Turco-Mongol descent, conqueror of much of western and central Asia. Timur crossed the Indus River at Attock (now Pakistan) on 24 September. In Haryana, his soldiers each killed 50 to 100 Hindus.

To Timur's irritation, his invasion did not go unopposed and he did meet resistance during his march to Delhi, most notably with the Sarv Khap coalition in northern India, and the Governor of Meerut. Although impressed and momentarily stalled by the valour of Ilyas Awan, Timur was able to continue his relentless approach to Delhi, arriving in 1398 to combat the armies of Sultan Mehmud, already weakened by an internal battle for ascension within the royal family. The Sultan's army was easily defeated on 17 December 1398. Timur entered Delhi and the city was sacked, destroyed, and left in ruins. Before the battle for Delhi, Timur executed more than 100,000 Hindu captives, this includes also Buddhists, Jainists, and even Muslims whom he considered to be too lenient towards the Indian population. This incident is not an exception but has been the common practice in Jihad against non-Muslims.

Islamic battles in Rajasthan fought against Hindus and other non-Muslims, against "lenient" Muslims, against the French and the British:

First Arab Invasion Attempts in 711 AD; Umayyad campaigns in India, 740; Battle of Kasahrada, 1178; Battle of Kasahrada, 1178; Siege of Ranthambore, 1226; Siege of Ranthambore, 1236; Siege of Ranthambore, 1248; Siege of Ranthambore, 1253; Siege of Ranthambore, 1259; Siege of Ranthambore, 1283; Battle of Ranthambore, 1290; Siege of Jaisalmer, 1294-1295; Siege of Ranthambore, 1301; Siege of Chittor, 1303; Siege of Siwana, 1308; Battle of Jalore, 1310-11; Battle of Chittor, 1321; Battle of Singoli, 1336; Battle of Sirohi, 1434; Siege of Mandalgarh, 1435-6; Battle of Sarangpur, 1437; Battle of Mandalgarh and Banas, 1442-1446; Siege of Gagrion, February 1444; Siege of Mandore, 1454; Battle of Abu, 1455; Battle of Nagaur, 1456; Battle of Mandalgarh, 1456; Siege of Mandalgarh, December 1456-October 1457; Siege of Kumbalgarh, 1458-9; Battle of Mandalgarh, 1467; Battle of Peepar, 1492; Battle of Khatoli, 1518; Battle of Dholpur, 1519; Battle of Gagrion, 1519; Siege of Mandsaur, 1520; Battle of Bayana, 1527; Battle of Khanwa, 1527; Battle of Sohaba, 1542; Battle of Sammel, 1544; Battle of Jodhpur, July 1545; Battle of Harmada, 1557; Battle of Ajmer, 1559; Battle of Merta, 1562; First Mughal Invasion of Marwar, 1562-1583; Siege of Chittorgarh, 1567; Siege of Ranthambore,

1568; Siege of Siwana, 1572; Battle of Haldighati, 1576; Battle of Dewair, 1582; Battle of Dewair, 1606; Second Mughal Invasion of Marwar, 1679-1707; Battle of Udaipur, 1680; Battle of Aravalli hills, 1680; Battle of Jodhpur, 1707; Annexation of Amer, January 1708; Battle of Merta, February 1708; Rajput Rebellion, September 1708-10; Battle of Kama, 1708; October 4-7, 1708; Battle of Sambhar, 1709; Jai Singh II's campaign against the Jats, 1718-1722; Battle of Gangwana, 1741; Battle of Rajmahal, 1747; Battle of Bagru, 1748; Battle of Raona, 1750; Battle of Luniawas, 1750; Battle of Ajmer, 1752; Battle of Kakkor, 1759; Battle of Mangrol, 1761; Battle of Maonda and Mandholi, 1767; Battle of Kama, 1768; Battle of Tunga or Battle of Lalsot, 1787; Battle of Patan, 1790; Battle of Merta, 1790; Battle of Fatehpur, 1799; Battle of Malpura, 1800; Siege of Mehrangarh, 1806; Battle of Auwa, 8 September 1857; Siege of Auwa, 1857-1858.]

SECTION 28. DA QIN (the Roman Empire)

The country of Daqin (also known as Lijian) is the greatest city among the countries of India (Xitian). All the foreign merchants from Dashi (Arabia and Egypt) gather here. *[This is copied word for word from the Lingwai daida. The Chinese knew the Roman Empire, including its eastern ("Byzantine") half, as Daqin (Great Qin meaning "Greater China" due to Rome's vast size), Lijian (probably derived from Alexandria), or Fulin (from Frum, the Sogdian name for Rome). They generally identified the political centre of Daqin as Syria, rather than Rome or Constantinople.]*

Its king is called Maluofu and he rules from the city of Andu (Antioch). He wears a silk turban with words embroidered in gold, and the throne on which he sits is covered with a silken rug. *[The writer was clearly unaware that as of 1178, Antioch was the capital of a Crusader state and not part of the Byzantine empire. "Maluofu" may be a transliteration of Syriac Mar Aba (venerable father), and could refer to the Syriac Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch. 1. Aba I (fl. 540-552), Patriarch of the Church of the East from 540 to 552; 2. Archdeacon Mar Aba Qozma (c.570-632), coadjutor of the Church of the East; 3. Aba II (fl. 741-751), Patriarch of the Church of the East. The term "Church of the Church" refers to the Nestorian Church or Syriac Christianity. This Church had nothing to do with the Roman Church led from Rome and Constantinople. Continuing as a dhimmi community after the Muslim conquest of Persia (633-654), the Church of the East played a major role in the history of Christianity in Asia. Between the 9th and 14th centuries it represented the world's largest Christian denomination in terms of geographical extent. It established dioceses and communities stretching from the Mediterranean Sea and today's Iraq and Iran, to India (the Saint Thomas Christians), the Mongol kingdoms in Central Asia, and China during the Tang dynasty (7th to 9th centuries). In the 13th and 14th centuries the church experienced a final*

period of expansion under the Mongol Empire, where influential Church of the East clergy sat in the Mongol court.]

The description of the king of Daqin in the Lingwai daida and Zhufan zhi had a lasting influence in China. For example, it is quoted and given a fanciful illustration in a late Ming encyclopedia, the Sancai tuhui (1609).

This country has a walled city with markets, wards, and lanes. The king's palace has pillars made of crystal and uses plaster in place of roof tiles. It has many curtains and tapestries. The wall has seven gates, each guarded by thirty men. When other countries present tribute to the king, they prostrate themselves at the foot of the steps to the throne, wish the king a long life, and then leave.

The people of this country are tall, good-looking, and fair-skinned, much like those of the Central Lands. That is why it is called Daqin (Great Qin). *[This passage is taken from the Tongdian, but the idealised image of the Romans as very similar to the Chinese goes back to third-century sources.]*

They have government ministries and written records, written in a "western" (Hu) script. The people all leave their hair long. They wear embroidered gowns and also use small (one-horse) carriages with white roofs and banners. Every ten li they have a ting, and every thirty li they have a beacon tower. There are many lions in this land that prey on travelers, who are likely to be eaten unless they go in armed groups of a hundred or more. *[Most of this information is taken from the Tongdian*, which in turn draws on the third-century Weilue and fifth-century Hou Hanshu, good annotated translations from which can be found here and here. However, the Hou Hanshu described the Daqin hairstyle as "shaved heads". Through mistranscription, the author of the Tongdian changed this to the opposite, "long hair". * The Tongdian (Wade-Giles: T'ung-tien; lit. 'Comprehensive Institutions') is a Chinese institutional history and encyclopedia text. The book was written by Du You from 766 to 801. It contains 200 volumes and about 1.7 million words, and is at times regarded as the most representative contemporary texts of the Tang Dynasty.]*

Under the palace, there is an underground passage connected to the worship hall about one li away. The king seldom goes out and only chants scriptures and makes offerings to the Buddha. Every seventh day, he uses the underground passage to go to the worship hall and worship the Buddha, accompanied by fifty or more people. The people of this country rarely see the king's face. *[This passage is from the Lingwai daida and seems to be inspired by Byzantine stories about secret tunnels leading from the imperial palace to the Hagia Sophia.]*

If the king does go out, he rides on a horse and uses a parasol. The top of the horse's head is decorated with gold, jade, pearls, and jewels.

Every year, a king of the country of Dashi (the Arab world), called the Su-dan (Sultan), sends people to present tribute to this king. If there is an emergency (i.e., a revolt) in this country, they command Dashi to

organise an army to put it down. [This passage may be a reference to the treaty between the Roman emperor Manuel I Comnenus and the Islamic Sultan of Rum [of Rome], Kilig Arslan II, in 1162-1175. The treaty collapsed and the Seljuks defeated the Roman army at Myriokephalon in 1176.

Their diet consists mainly of rice, bread, and meat. They do not drink wine. They use gold and silver dishes and eat from them with spoons. Upon finishing a meal, they wash their hands with water held in a gold basin. The land produces opaque glass, coral, gold ore, flowery brocade, plain cotton cloth, red agate, and pearls. It also produces haiji rhinoceros horn, which is the same as tongtian rhinoceros horn.

At the beginning of the Yanjia (mistranscription: should be Yanxi) era of the [Eastern] Han, the ruler of this country sent an ambassador across the frontier at Rinan (central Vietnam) to present a tribute of rhinoceros horns, ivory, and turtle shell. This was the beginning of its diplomatic contact with the Central Lands. Nothing of greater value was presented, so some suspected that the ambassador was concealing treasures. In the Taikang era (280-289) of the [Western] Jin, they presented tribute again.

It is said that to the west of this country there are the Weak River and the Shifting Sands, which are close to the dwelling place of the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu). That is nearly where the sun goes down.

It should be noted that Du Huan's Account of My Travels (Jingxing ji) contains the following: "The country of Fusang (mistranscription: should be Fulin) is to the west of the country of Shan (Sham=Syria) and is also called Daqin. The people have ruddy complexions and the men wear plain clothing, while the women wear pearls and brocade. They like drinking wine and eating dry bread. They have many skilled artisans and are good at weaving. This country's territory stretches a thousand li across. It has more than 10,000 troops who guard the country against Dashi (the Arab world). In the western sea there is a market where buyers and sellers agree that if one comes the other will leave. The seller lays out his goods, and the buyer then puts down the amount he is willing to pay next to the product. After the seller has taken the payment [and left], then the buyer may come and take what he purchased. This is called the 'ghost market.'"

[Zhao Rukuo's attempt at padding the Lingwai daida account with outdated material from the Tongdian reflects how little new information about the Roman empire was available to the Song Chinese. Embassies from "Fulin" arrived in the Northern Song in 1081 and 1091, but they apparently claimed that they had never previously sent tribute to China, and the information on local geography and customs that they supplied seemed different from those described in Tang sources. The late thirteenth-century historian Ma Duanlin therefore suspected this "Fulin" to be a different country from the Fulin (formerly Daqin) of Tang times. There was

no diplomatic contact between the Romans and the Southern Song. And this had a reason.

Since the death of Mohammed, his successor relentlessly conquered one Roman Province after another. Syria and the Holy Land fell first, then Egypt, Persia, and North Africa, the "bread basket" of the Roman Empire. By conquering the Mediterranean Sea, Islam strangled the Romans and the rest of Europe almost to death. The trading routes between Rome and China were cut off. And the Muslims made sure that no information or goods went through their blockade of the Silk Road. The Muslims were now the masters of the Middle East, North Africa, the Mediterranean Sea, India, Central Asia, and they subjugated Spain and the Balkans in Europe. The Franks had stopped their appetite for conquest at the Battle of Tours [Poitiers, 732 AD] and Vikings shocked them one century later with even greater brutality. By beginning of the 13th century, the Muslims had fought about 500 battles to destroy and subjugate the Classical Civilisations of Greece and Rome; they had fought another 500 battles in Persia, India, Central Asia, and China. They were now about to wipe out the non-Muslim population in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Northern India, Indonesia, Malaysia, and others.

The stragulation of Europe by Islam had enormous economic consequences. Additionally, Christians were fighting each other. In April 1204, the Fourth Crusade captured and plundered the enormous wealth of Constantinople. The Eastern Roman empire had effectively ceased to exist due to the conquest of Constantinople by. The former territory of the empire was divided between a number of Crusader states and three Roman rump states until one of the three, the Nicene empire, reconquered Constantinople and reestablished the Roman empire in 1261. Finally, Constantinople, and the rest of the Roman Empire, fell by the hand of the Muslim invaders on 29 May 1453.]

SECTION 29. TIANZHU (India)

(Note: This section is a mishmash of information from various sources, both old and recent, that Zhao Rukuo could not connect to a specific state in India.)

The country of Tianzhu (India) is under the authority of Daqin (the Roman/Byzantine empire), and its rulers are all selected and appointed by Daqin.*

[This bizarre claim is probably derived from the Lingwai daida section on Daqin, which identified Tianzhu as a vassal state of Daqin. The translator also mentioned other speculations to explain this claim.*

The truth is much more mundane. When the Muslim Turks smashed the Arab caliphates, their Sultans build their own Turkish caliphate, their own Islamic empire, and when they marched into Asia Minor, Anatolia, the

heartland of the Roman Empire, they declared themselves to be "Emperor of Rum," Roman Emperor that is.

It was Malik Shah [r. 1110 and 1116], a minor Islamic ruler of Anatolia, who called himself the "Sultan of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum." Following rulers called themselves also Kayser-i Rum (which is Turkish for "Caesar of Rome") and from 1453, following the defeat of Constantinople, it was even one of the titles used by the Seljuk Ottoman Sultans.

The Seljuk empire was founded by Tughril Beg (990–1063) and his brother Chaghri Beg (989–1060) in 1037. From their homelands near the Aral Sea, the Seljuks advanced first into Khorasan and then into mainland Persia, before eventually capturing Baghdad and conquering eastern Anatolia. Here the Seljuks won the battle of Manzikert in 1071 and conquered most of Anatolia from the Byzantine Empire, which became one of the reasons for the First Crusade (1095–1099). Starting from 1140s, the Seljuk empire declined, and was eventually replaced by the Khwarazmian Empire [also of Turkic origin] in 1194. At its greatest extent, the Seljuk Empire controlled a vast area stretching from western Anatolia to the borderland of India in the east, and from Central Asia to the Persian Gulf in the south. All these Islamic Turkish rulers viewed themselves as legal successors of the Roman Empire, and they told this to everyone. So, there is no wonder that the Chinese also viewed the Turkish caliphate as Romans, and suddenly the following descriptions make sense.]

By custom, they all tie their hair in pigtails that hang down from the temples and crown, while covering the rest with a silk turban. They use plaster instead of tiles in their houses, and have walled cities. The king wears wool brocade and has a topknot coiled on the top of his head. He cuts the rest of his hair short. When coming out to hold court in the morning, he sits on a deng skin (original note: deng is the name of an animal) decorated with red wax in images of all kinds of animals. His subjects all prostrate themselves and wish him a long life.

When the king goes out, he rides a horse with chains of gold-copper alloy and silver hanging from its saddle and bridle. He has three hundred men in his entourage, all bearing spears, swords, and other such weapons. His consorts wear red gowns with gold embroidery and big sleeves. He comes out of the palace once a year and distributes much wealth as charity to the poor.

There is a kind of holy water in this country that can cause winds and waves to subside. Foreign merchants store large amounts of it in opaque glass bottles. When they meet a storm at sea, they sprinkle it on the waves and the storm ends. *[The Lingwai daida placed this holy water in Daqin, but after a sentence claiming that Tianzhu was a vassal state of Daqin. This means regions ruled by the Seljuk Turks.]*

In the reign of Emperor Xuanwu of the Later (Northern) Wei, this country once sent an ambassador to present a fine horse as tribute. He

said that his country produces lions, sables, leopards, camels, rhinoceroses, elephants, tortoiseshell, gold, copper, iron, lead, tin, golden wool tapestries with gold embroidery, cotton, and wool rugs (tadeng). They have a precious purple stone like mica that when cracked is as thin as cicada wings, but when accumulated looks like silk gauze or crepe. They also have diamonds, which look like amethysts and do not melt even when heated in the fire a hundred times. They are hard enough to cut jade. They have sandalwood and other aromatics, sugar cane and jaggery, and various kinds of fruits. They trade yearly with Daqin and Funan, using cowries as money. Their custom is to be skilled in the arts of magic. They have bows and arrows, armor, and lances, as well as techniques for building siege towers, siege tunnels, and wooden oxen and rolling horses (i.e., wheelbarrows). However, they are cowardly in battle. They are skilled in the astronomical and calendrical sciences, and all study a book called Siddham Learning (Siddhirastu)... [there is a lacuna of seven characters] and use palm leaves (beiduo = patra) as paper.

In the Zhenguan (627-649) and Tianshou (690-692) eras of the Tang dynasty, this country sent ambassadors to present tribute.

In the Yongxi era (984-988) [of our dynasty], a Buddhist monk named Luohuna came here [to Quanzhou] by sea and said that he was a man of the country of Tianzhu. The foreign merchants, seeing that he was a western (Hu) monk, vied with one another to bring him donations of gold, silk, and jewels. He did not keep any of it for himself but bought a piece of vacant land to build a Buddhist temple to the south of Quanzhou's city walls. This is today known as the Baolin temple.

SECTION 30. DASHI (the Islamic Arab Empire)

Dashi lies to the northwest of Quanzhou but is separated from it by a very great distance. Foreign ships have great difficulty getting there directly. After sailing from Quanzhou for forty or more days, they reach Lan(wu)li (Lamuri) and spend the winter there. The next year, they set out again and reach this country (Dashi) after sixty more days of sailing with a favorable wind. The products of this country are primarily exported to Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) for trade, and are then bought there by merchants who bring them to the Central Lands. *[In Tang and Song times, the Chinese referred to the Arab Muslim caliphate and its various sultanates and emirates as Dashi, derived from the Middle Persian word for "Arab," tazik.]*

This country is militarily strong and its territory is large. The people are the most extravagant among all foreign countries. The climate is usually cold and snow accumulates to a height of two or three feet. That is why they prize felt rugs. *[In reality, snow is very rare in the arid Arabian region. If this passage refers to the Islamic Arab Empire, then the Taurus Mountains in southern Anatolia have been its northern borderland, and there is snow.]*

The capital city is called Mixuli (original note: also known as Maluoba). It occupies a strategic position among foreign countries. [Mixuli could refer to Misr, the Arabic name for Egypt, suggesting Cairo as a location. In a later section of the Zhufan zhi, also containing information on Egypt, the same name is transliterated as Wusili. "Maluoba" must be the Maliba / Maluoba mentioned in the Lingwai daida. It is most likely Mirbat (also transliterated in the Zhufan zhi as Maluomo and Wuba).

The king wears a turban of cotton brocade. At the new moon and full moon (i.e., the first and fifteenth days of the lunar month), he wears an eight-sided flat-topped crown of pure gold, decorated with the finest jewels in the world. He wears a brocade robe, a jade belt, and golden shoes. His palace has pillars of agate, walls of lugan (original note: a stone as transparent as water), roof tiles of crystal, bricks of malachite (lushi), and mortar of "living" stone (huoshi). The curtains and screens are made of hundred-flower brocade, which is woven from real gold thread and five colours of silk thread. The king's throne is decorated with pearls and jewels, its steps gilded with pure gold. His eating utensils, cooking cauldron, and hearth are made of different grades of gold and silver. There is a curtain made of strings of pearls that he sits behind during court audiences.

Among the officials of this country there are chancellors who wear gold armor and helmets, carry jeweled swords, and stand on the king's left and right to protect him. The other officials are called grand marshals (taiwei). Each commands more than 20,000 troops. Their horses are seven feet tall and have iron shoes. The soldiers are valorous and their martial prowess is unmatched.

The city's streets are more than fifty feet wide. In the middle of each street is a roadway twenty feet wide and four feet deep that is used for camels, horses, and oxen carrying goods. On either side are sidewalks paved with bluish-black stone slabs of exquisite quality; these are for the convenience of pedestrians. The people's homes are like those of the Central Lands, except for their roofs, which are made of thin stone slabs rather than tiles. The people's staple food is rice and other grains, but they are fond of mutton steamed with thin strips of dough. The poor eat fish, vegetables, and fruits; their fruits are all sweet, not sour. They use grape juice to make wine. They also make sisu wine, which is grape wine heated with sugar and spices, and a very warming wine called meisidahua (Latin: mistura, "mixture") that is made with honey and spices. The richest families use measuring cups, not scales, when buying things with gold and silver. The marketplaces are noisy and crowded, filled with gold, silver, damask, brocade, and the like. Their artisans are all extremely skilled in their respective arts.

The king, his ministers, and the common people all worship Heaven, as well as a Buddha called Maxiawu (Cantonese dialect pronunciation: Mahamat, meaning Mohammed). Every seven days, they cut their hair

and fingernails. They fast and recite scriptures for a month at the beginning of the year, and worship Heaven five times a day.

The peasants in this country can plant crops without any fear of floods or droughts. There is a river running down from the mountains whose water suffices for irrigation; its source is unknown. Outside the growing season, the water level stays even with the two banks, but when planting is about to begin, the water gradually begins to rise day by day. An official is then assigned to observe the water. When it has reached its widest spread, he calls the people to start plowing and planting. When they have had enough water to use, the water recedes to its original level. *[This is believed to be the earliest Chinese description of the flooding of the Nile.]*

This country has a great harbour with a depth of more than two hundred feet. It opens to the sea on the southeast and has canals connected to the country's different regions. People live on both shores of the harbor and hold market fairs daily that draw in people by both land and sea. Hemp, wheat, millet, beans, sugar, flour, oil, firewood, chickens, sheep, geese, ducks, fish, prawns, date cakes, grapes, and other fruits are all sold there. *[Various locations for this harbour in Egypt have been suggested by commentators. Hirth and Rockhill proposed Kolzum (Suez), while Yang Bowen proposed El Qoseir.]*

The products of this land include pearls, ivory, rhinoceros horn, frankincense, ambergris, costus, cloves, nutmeg, benzoin, aloe, myrrh, dragon's blood, asafetida, civet oil, borax, opaque glass, transparent glass, giant clams, coral trees (i.e., red coral), cat's eye gems, champak flowers, rosewater, oak nut galls, beeswax, soft brocade with gold weave, camel-hair cloth, Tūla cotton, and exotic satin. The foreign merchants who trade in them export them to Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) and Foluoan (Phatthalung) for sale.

Vassal states of this country include: Maluomo (Mirbat), Shihe (al-Shihr), Nufa (Dhofar), Yasibaoxian (Isfahan), Luoshimei (Khwarazm), Mujulan (Makran), Qieliji (Qalhat), Pinuoye (Ifriqiya or Barqah), Yilu (Iraq), Baida (Baghdad), Silian (possibly Siraf), Bailian (Al-Bahrain=Eastern Arabia), Jiji (possibly Tikrit), Ganmei (probably Khambhat), Puhualuo (Bukhara), Cengba (Zanzibar), Bipaluo (Berbera), Wuba (Mirbat), Wengli (mistranscription: should be Wengman=Oman), Jishi (Kish Island), Majia (Mecca), Bisiluo (Basra), Jicini (Ghazni), and Wusili (Mosul).

The people of this country were originally a branch of the Bosi (Persians). In the Daye era (605-618) of the Sui dynasty, a miscreant Bosi (Persian) found an inscribed stone in a cave and interpreted it as an auspicious sign. He then built an army of followers to engage in pillage. As the number of his followers grew large, he set himself up as a king and occupied the western territory of the country of Bosi (Persia). [This garbled narrative of the rise of the Prophet Mohammed is adapted from the Jiu Tangshu account of Dashi, which reads: "In the Daye era, a

Persian man was herding camels at the mountain Jufen Modena (Jabal Madinah). Suddenly, a lion spoke to him in human speech, saying, 'There are three caves west of this mountain. In them are many weapons that you may take for yourself. In them there is also a black stone with white writing, and if you read it, you will become king.' The man followed these instructions and indeed found very many spears and swords in the caves, as well as a stone written with words teaching him how to rebel. He then gathered an army of fugitives, crossed the Henghe river, and began robbing trade caravans. His army grew large and he occupied the western territory of Bosi (Persia) , setting himself up as a king." *[This account may be based on Sassanid informants from the mid-to-late seventh century.]*

This country has repeatedly presented tribute since the Yonghui era (650-655) of the Tang dynasty. Of its kings, those from the Pengni Mohuan (Banu Marwan=Marwanids) and before are known as the White-robed Dashi. Those from Apoluoba (Abu al-'Abbās) onwards are known as the Black-robed Dashi. [The Tang dynasty referred to the Umayyad caliphate as the "White-robed Dashi" and the Abbasid caliphate as the "Black-robed Dashi." The official colour of the Abbasids was black, as reflected by the robes worn by its officials.

In the fourth year of the Qiande era (966) of our dynasty, the Buddhist monk Xingqin made a journey to the Western Regions. The emperor had him bring a letter to the king [of Dashi] inviting him to render submission. [According to other sources, Xingqin was one of 157 Buddhist pilgrims whom the recently-founded Song dynasty allowed to travel to "the Western Regions" (Central Asia, India, and the Middle East) in 966, in search of Buddhist sutras. Each pilgrim was granted 30,000 copper coins. See Songshi 2.23, 490.14104, 14118.]

In the first year of the Kaibao era (968), they sent an ambassador to present tribute. In the fourth year (971), they joined the countries of Zhancheng (Champa) and Shepo (Java) in presenting gifts to Li Yu of Jiangnan (i.e., the Southern Tang state). Li Yu dared not accept their gifts and sent an envoy to report the situation to [the Song emperor], who then issued an edict ordering him not to send such items as tribute in future (literally, "an edict that from now on, do not use them as tribute"). In the fourth year of the Chunhua era (993), they sent the vice-ambassador Li Yawu (Cantonese: Li Amat=Ali Ahmad?) to present tribute. He was granted an audience in the Chongzheng Hall [of the imperial palace], in which he said that his country is neighbors with the country of Daqin (the Roman/Byzantine empire) and that it produces ivory and rhinoceros horn. Emperor Taizong asked him what method was used to capture rhinoceroses and elephants. He answered, "To capture an elephant, we use tame elephants as a bait to lure it closer. We then simply use a long rope to bridle (lasso) it. As for rhinoceroses, we have men climb tall trees and lie in wait for them with bows and arrows. When

they pass by, the men shoot and kill them. But small rhinoceroses can be caught without the use of bows and arrows." The emperor granted him a set of robes, a cap, and a belt, as well as gold to the value of the tribute presented. [*"Li Yawu," whose Arabic name may have been Ali Ahmad, came to Song court as the deputised representative of a maritime merchant (a "ship master") named "Pu Ximi" (Abu Hamid), who had sailed from Arabia to Guangzhou but was supposedly too sick to continue on to Kaifeng. A letter from Pu Ximi to the Song emperor, delivered by Li Yawu on this occasion, has been preserved in the Songshi and shows that the tribute presented consisted of "fifty elephant tusks, 1,800 jin (catties) of frankincense, seven hundred jin of wrought iron, a roll of red-threaded cotton, four rolls of five-colored flowered foreign silk, two rolls of white yuenuo cloth, a glazed bottle, an unusual stone, and one hundred rosewater bottles."* The letter was recently translated and analyzed by John Chaffee in *Muslim Merchants of Premodern China*, 69-71. In the section on elephant ivory in Part 2, Zhao Rukuo states that Maluomo (Mirbat) is the largest producer of ivory in Dashi, and that the people there hunt elephants with poisoned arrows.]

In the third year of the Yongxi era (986), their ambassador came to the imperial court with the ambassador from Bintonglong (Panduranga). In the sixth year of the Xianping era (1003), they sent Mani and other envoys to present a tribute of pearls, requesting that the emperor not grant presents in return. Emperor Zhenzong did not want to go against their wishes, but he sent them off with great honours.

In the first year of the Jingde era (1004), their ambassador was in our capital with the ambassadors from Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) and Pugan (Pagan). They were allowed to stay behind and watch the Lantern Festival. All were granted copper coins and permitted to drink wine to their heart's content. [*This event is also mentioned in the earlier section on Pugan (Pagan).*]

In the fourth year (1007), their ambassador came to present tribute with the ambassador from Zhancheng (Champa). They were given the best lodging and food and allowed to tour the Buddhist and Daoist temples in the capital and the imperial gardens.

In the Dazhong Xiangfu era (1008-1017), when the emperor [Zhenzong] traveled east [in 1008] to perform the Feng and Shan sacrifices [to Heaven], their leader Tuopoli submitted a letter expressing his desire to bring a tribute of local products to Mount Tai. The emperor granted this request. In the fourth year of the same era (1011), when the emperor was going to perform sacrifices [to Earth] at Fenyin, [Tuopoli] came [to the court] again. The emperor issued an edict ordering him to follow the court.

In Guangzhou there were stories of a man from the country of Dashi, Wuxihuluhua (Cantonese pronunciation: Mousaifatlouwa), who was a hundred and thirty years old. His ears had two helixes and he had an

extremely impressive appearance. He said that he had been drawn from afar to the emperor's transforming influence and had come here by ship from the country of Guluo (Kalah). The emperor issued an edict to reward him with a brocade robe, a silver belt, and bundles of silk. *[The Songshi version of this story dates it to 1012.]*

This country sent ambassadors to our court with tribute in the Yuanyou (1086-1094) and Kaixi (1205-1208) eras.

There was a foreign merchant named Shinawei, a man from Dashi, who resided as a sojourner in the southern outskirts of Quanzhou. He was generous and charitable with his wealth, in a manner characteristic of western lands. He built a cemetery outside the southeastern corner of the city walls to bury the bodies of western (Hu) merchants who die [in Quanzhou]. The maritime trade inspector Lin Zhiqi recorded this truthfully.

SECTION 31. MAJIA (Mecca, Makka, Maka)

After traveling westward by land for eighty or more days from Maluoba (Mirbat), one reaches the country of Majia (Cantonese dialect pronunciation: Magaa=Mecca).

This is the birthplace of the Buddha Maxiawu (Cantonese: Mahamat = Muhammad). His former home is built with bricks of jade in five colors. Every year, on the anniversary of this Buddha's death, people from the various countries of Dashi (the Arab/Islamic world) all come here to pay their respects, vying with each other to bring offerings of gold, silver, and jewels. On that day, they also cover the Buddha's home in brocade. Behind the house is the Buddha's tomb. It emits a bright glow both day and night, and no one can get close to it [without being blinded]. All passersby have to close their eyes [to protect their sight]. People on their deathbeds rub dirt taken from the tomb mound onto their chests, believing that they will be reincarnated as human beings (chaosheng) through the Buddha's power. *[This entire passage is adapted from the Lingwai daida. Zhou Qufei most likely sought information about Mecca from Muslim informants, but misunderstood much of what he heard. He interpreted the Kaaba as Mohammed's "former home*," (* which could be an allusion to Maka in Paran, Petra, Jordan, which could, according to Dan Gibson, have been Mohammed's former home as the Black Stone have been brought from Petra to the today's Mecca.)]* and the Hajj as an annual pilgrimage to commemorate Muhammad's death. Muhammad's tomb is not in Mecca but in Medina. The tomb adjacent to the Kaaba is believed to be that of Ismail/Ishmael.

SECTION 32. CENGBA (Zanzibar; off the coast of Tanzania)

The country of Cengba (Zanzibar) is on islands in the sea south of Huchala (Gujarat). It adjoins a great mountain to the west. Its people are all clans of the Dashi (Arab) people and follow the Dashi religion. *[The*

islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, Mafia are to 98% Islamised; Tanzania's population today has already 35% Muslims, 65% are Christians. Cengba is probably a transliteration of Persian zangbar, a compound of Zang ("black") + bar ("coast"). Zhao Rukuo's claim that Zanzibar lies south of Gujarat is geographically incorrect but probably reflects his poor understanding of the position of east Africa in relation to Arabia and India. There is the suggestion that Cengba was not Zanzibar but perhaps another Islamic island south of it: Kilwa Kisiwani. Here was the powerful Kilwa sultanate.]

They wrap themselves in blue cotton cloth and wear red leather shoes. Their daily diet consists of rice, flour dumplings, baked flatbread, and mutton. Their villages are nestled deep in hills and forests. The weather is warm, with no cold season.

The land produces ivory, gold ore, ambergris, and yellow sandalwood. Every year, the coastal regions of Huchala (Gujarat) and Dashi (the Arab world) send ships to trade with this country, using white cotton cloth, porcelain ware, red copper (gold-copper alloy), and red kapok.

SECTION 33. BIPALUO (Somaliland and possibly Djibouti)

The country of Bipaluo has four prefectures. The rest of the country is made up of villages ruled by local strongmen. *[Hirth and Rockhill tentatively identified the four prefectures as the cities of Berbera and Zeila in northern Somalia and Mogadishu and Barawa in the south. Bipaluo (Cantonese: Patpalo) is probably a transliteration of the Arabic term Barbara, a name for the Somali region as a whole. However, both Bipaluo and Zhongli (which has a separate section in the Zhufan zhi) seem to have been in northern Somalia, with Bipaluo corresponding to modern Somaliland. In that case, the four prefectures of Bipaluo may have included Berbera, Zeila, and all or part of modern Djibouti.]*

They worship Heaven and do not worship the Buddha.

This land has many camels and sheep. One of their popular dishes is camel meat with camel milk and baked flatbread.

They produce ambergris, the tusks of large elephants, and the horns of large rhinoceroses. Some of the elephant tusks weigh more than a hundred catties (about 140 lbs) and the rhinoceros horns weigh more than ten catties (about 14 lbs).

They also have large amounts of costus, liquid storax gum, and myrrh, and exceptionally thick tortoiseshell. Merchants from every country go there to trade for tortoiseshell.

They also have an animal called the camel-crane, which stands at a height of six to seven feet with its neck fully stretched. It has wings and can fly, but not to a great height.

They have an animal called the cula (Cula is derived from the Arabic zarafah, which is also the root of the English word "giraffe."). It resembles a camel in shape and an ox in size and has a yellow color. Its front legs

are five feet long and its hind legs are three feet long. Its head is elevated to a great height and points upwards, and its hide is an inch thick.

They also have mules with alternating red, white, and black patterns resembling warp threads (i.e., vertical stripes). These are all wild beasts of the mountains and plains and are typically variant types of camel. The people of this country like hunting and sometimes hunt these with poisoned arrows.

SECTION 34. WUBA (Mirbat)

The country of Wuba (Mirbat) is by the sea and also has land routes leading to Dashi (inland Arabia and Egypt?). The king has a purplish-brown complexion, and wears a turban and a shirt. He follows the religion of Dashi (Islam).

SECTION 35. ZHONGLI (Puntland and Socotra)

(Zhongli is a loose transliteration of Warsangali, a leading Somali clan that founded a sultanate in northeastern Somalia in the late thirteenth century. The mention in this section of this country being connected to Bipaluo (Somaliland) by a sparsely inhabited area of mountains suggests a location that includes Puntland and Socotra. The mountains would then most likely be the Cal Madow range.)

The people of the country of Zhongli go bare-headed and barefoot. They wrap their bodies with cotton cloth but dare not wear shirts. Only chief ministers and the king's attendants wear shirts and turbans to distinguish themselves from the common people.

The king's palace is made of brick walls, while ordinary people's houses are thatched with palm leaves and grass. Their daily meals consist of baked flour flatbread, sheep milk, and camel milk. They have extremely many cattle, sheep, and camels.

In Dashi (the Arab world), only this country produces frankincense.

This country has many sorcerers who can transform into animals or sea creatures to amaze and bewilder the ignorant. If they have a grudge against a foreign merchant ship passing through, they cast a magic spell and the ship cannot control (literally "cannot know") whether it is moving forward or backward. Only after the dispute is mediated will the sorcerer release the ship. The country has a very strict ban on such practices.

Once every year, a large flock of migratory birds makes a stop in the outskirts of the city. There are so many that they cannot be counted. By sunrise they are all gone; not one can be seen. The people of this country set up nets to catch and eat them; they are extremely delicious. They come only in late spring, and by the time summer begins, they leave to return at the same time the following year.

When a person in this country dies and he is laid in a coffin to await burial, both his close kin and his distant relatives will come and offer their condolences. Each one comes into the house waving his sword and

asking the mourners about the cause of the man's death: "If he was killed by another man, we will avenge him by killing that man with our swords!" The mourner replies that the deceased was not murdered and that his death was Heaven's will, upon which the questioner throws his sword down and begins to wail.

Every year there are frequently big fish who die and drift onto the shore. These fish are a hundred or more feet in length and twenty or more feet across in diameter. The people of this country do not eat their flesh but only cut out the brain and eyes to use as oil. They can collect up to three hundred or more deng of it from one fish. They mix the oil with lime to caulk their ships, or use it to light lamps. The poorer people use the fish's ribs as beams in the roofs of their houses, use the backbone to make doors, and make large mortars out of individual joints. *[These "big fish" are evidently beached whales.]*

For a good discussion of the use of whale bones as building material in Norway and the Indian Ocean world, see Vicki Ellen Szabo, *Monstrous Fishes and the Mead-Dark Sea : Whaling in the Medieval North Atlantic* (Brill, 2008), 205-209.

his country has mountains that form its boundary with Bipaluo (Somaliland). They extend four thousand li across and are for the most part uninhabited. These mountains produce dragon's blood and aloe.

The surrounding waters produce tortoiseshell and ambergris. The source of this ambergris is unknown, but one will suddenly see a lump of it, maybe three or five catties or even ten catties (about 14 lbs) in weight, drifting onto the shore. The local people hasten to divide it up among themselves. Sometimes, a ship at sea comes across one such piece and the crew pick it up.

SECTION 36. WENGMAN (Oman)

The people and animals of the country of Wengman (Oman) are like those of Wuba (Mirbat). Their ruler wears a turban and wraps himself with a cotton cloth; he wears no shirt or shoes. His servants go bareheaded and barefoot and wrap their entire bodies in cotton cloth. *[The ruler mentioned here was a king of the Nabhani dynasty, who ruled the northern and inland areas of Oman from Bahla.]*

The diet consists of baked flour flatbread, mutton, sheep's milk, fish, and vegetables. The land produces very many dates. The coastal region produces pearls, while horses are raised in very large numbers in the hills. Merchants from other countries buy only horses, pearls, and dates from this country, trading cloves, cardamom, and camphor for them.

SECTION 37. JISHI (Kish Island)

The country of Jishi (Kish Island) is on an island in the sea, within sight of Dashi, the distance between them being half a day's travel. [Here,

"Dashi" is probably to be understood as the mainland of Iran rather than the Arabian peninsula.]

It rules over only a small number prefectures. When the king leaves his palace, he rides a horse and is shaded by a black parasol, with over a hundred men in his entourage.

The people of this country are fair-skinned and tall, growing to a height of up to eight feet. They tie their hair into braids eight feet long, half of which are coiled on the head and half of which hang down the back. They wear foreign-style shirts, wrap themselves with cotton cloth, and wear red leather shoes.

They use gold and silver coins. Their diet consists of wheat bread, mutton, fish, and dates; they do not eat rice. The land produces pearls and fine horses.

Every year, the Dashi (Arabs) load camels with rosewater, champak, mercury, cupronickel, silver ore, cinnabar, madder, and fine cotton cloth. These camels are put on ships and taken to this country, which then sells their cargo to other countries.

SECTION 38. BAIDA (Baghdad)

The country of Baida (Baghdad) is a great city of the Dashi (Arab) countries. One reaches it from Maluoba (Mirbat) after about 130 days of travel by land across more than fifty prefectures. This country is extremely powerful, with a very large and well-equipped army. Its king is a direct descendant of the Buddha Maxiawu (Mahamat=Muhammad). His family has held the throne for twenty-nine generations, over the course of six to seven hundred years. Although the various Dashi countries attack one another, none of them dares to invade his territory. *[The Abbasid caliphate had ruled for less than five hundred years at this time. The caliph who died in 1225, Al-Nasir, was the thirty-fourth in the Abbasid dynasty, not the twenty-ninth. The caliphate had lost its political and military dominance over the Islamic world since the tenth century, but Al-Nasir achieved a brief military revival and was able to regain control in Iraq during his reign.]*

When the king leaves his palace, he is shaded by a black canopy with a gold handle and a jade lion on its crown. On its back is a large golden [crescent] moon that gleams like a star and can be seen from a distance. In their cities, the streets and homes are lavishly decorated with precious objects and expensive textiles.

This country is scarce in rice, fish, and vegetables. The people eat bread, meat, and butter. The land produces gold, silver, high-grade opaque glass engraved with flowers, white yuenuo cotton cloth, and liquid storax.

The people of this country are fond of using fine snow-white cotton as turbans and clothing. They cut their hair and nails once every seven days, and worship Heaven five times a day. They follow the Dashi religion and because their rulers are descendants of the Buddha [Mohammed],

the other [Dashi] countries submit to them out of respect. *[The description of Muslim practices here is similar to the one in the earlier section on Dashi.]*

SECTION 39. BISILUO (Basra)

The lord of the country of Bisiluo (Basra) goes in and out of his palace with an entourage of more than a thousand mounted guards all dressed in iron armor. The generals wear chain mail. This country is under the authority of Baida (Baghdad, i.e., the Abbasid caliphate).

The people eat baked flour flatbread and mutton. Their cold and hot seasons are fairly regular, but their lunar months are of irregular length. The land produces camels, sheep, and dates. Merchants from Jishi (Kish Island) and Wengman (Oman) go to this country to trade every year.

SECTION 40. JICINI (Ghazni)

(Ghazni, historically known as Ghaznin or Ghazna, is a city in the East of Afghanistan strategically located at the main road between Kabul and Kandahar for thousands of years. During the pre-Islamic period, the area was inhabited by various tribes who practiced different religions including Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Hinduism. Arab Muslims forced Islam onto the Ghazni populace in the 7th century and were followed in the 9th century by the Islamic Saffarids. Sabuktigin (c. 942–997 AD) made Ghazni the capital of the Ghaznavid Empire in the 10th century.)

The country of Jicini (Ghazni) is about one hundred and twenty days' travel from Maluoba (Mirbat). This land lies in the northwest and is extremely cold, so cold that the snow from winter does not melt in spring. The country is surrounded by tall mountains and they have cut a city out of the mountains, measuring two hundred or more li across. The city is surrounded by a moat of water. *[Most of this information is from the Lingwai daida, but the distance from Mirbat is an addition by Zhao Rukuo and leads to some confusion, since Ghazni lies far to the northeast of Mirbat. Presumably, when Zhou Qufei described Ghazni as oriented to the northwest, he meant this in relation to China or more likely to India. The Indian culture was prevalent in this region before Islam destroyed Hinduism and Buddhism there.]*

At the time of the Lingwai daida, Ghazni was the capital of the Ghurid empire, which had captured it from the declining Ghaznavids. By the time of the Zhufan zhi, the Ghurids had fallen to the Khwarezmian empire, which was in turn falling to the Mongols.

This country has more than two hundred halls of worship. Both officials and common people go to worship in these halls, calling such worship chumie (Jumu'ah). *[These are evidently mosques.]*

Many of the people are wealthy and live in many-storied houses, with as many as five to seven levels. They have large herds of camels and horses. The people eat bread, meat, and yogurt and lack fish and rice. When they

do want to eat rice, they mix it with cow milk and water and drink it down.

This country's king has arms that reach down to below his knees. He has a hundred war horses, each more than six feet in height, and several tens of mules, each three feet in height. When leaving his palace, he alternates between riding a horse and riding a mule. His bow has a draw weight of several piculs, and even five to seven ordinary men pulling together cannot draw it. On horseback he wields an iron mace weighting more than fifty catties (70 lbs). The countries of Dashi (the Arab world) and India (Xitian) all fear him.

The land produces gold and silver, yuenuo cotton cloth, brocade with gold weave, five-coloured camel skin cloth, opaque glass engraved with flowers, liquid storax, wumingyi (literally "the unnamed rarity"), and bezoar stones. [This follows the Lingwai daida word for word. Wumingyi was a kind of cobalt-bearing iron ore that has been tentatively identified as limonite. It was used in medicine and also for coloring blue and white porcelain.]

SECTION 41. WUSILI (Mosul)

The country of Wusili (Mosul) is on land that has many rocky mountains. In autumn there falls a heavy dew that congeals under sunlight into a form like powdered sugar icing. The people gather it as food. It is refreshing and tasty and is probably real "sweet dew."

There is a kind of tree that grows wild in these mountains. In its first year, it produces chestnuts called pulu. In its second year, it produces nut galls.

This land produces asbestos cloth (huohuan bu, literally "cloth that can be washed with fire") and coral.

SECTION 42. LUMEI (possibly Constantinople or the Kingdom of Georgia)

The country of Lumei is also called Meilugu. One reaches it only after more than three hundred days of land travel westwards from Maluoba (Mirbat). The walls of its capital are irregular-shaped and seven-layered. They are made of large, shining black stones and each layer of the wall is a thousand paces from the next. There are over three hundred foreign towers, one of which is eight hundred feet tall and has three hundred and sixty rooms. It is large enough for four horses to ascend abreast. *[Most of this passage, except for the two sentences in red, is adapted from the Lingwai daida section on a country called Meilugudun. Hirth and Rockhill identified Lumei as a transliteration of Rûm (Rome), the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish name for the Roman empire and by extension, Anatolia. There are plenty of speculations as to for the location. Scholars considered Konya (the capital of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rûm) and*

Damascus or Merv as possible locations for the city described. However, a building with 360 rooms was most likely to be found in Constantinople.]

The people of this country all wear turbans with caved-in tops (tading) and wear clothes made of coloured wool.

Their diet consists of meat and bread, and they use gold and silver coins. They have forty thousand households whose profession is to weave brocade. The land produces sea silk, yuenuo cotton cloth embroidered with gold words, brocade with alternating threads of gold and silk, bezoar stones, oak nut galls, rosewater, champak flowers, liquid storax, borax, and high-grade opaque glass with engraved flowers. The local households like breeding camels, horses, and dogs.

SECTION 43. MULANPI (the Almohad caliphate)

To the west of Dashi (the Arab world) there is a big sea, and to the west of that are countless countries. The only one of these that is accessible to large ships from Dashi is the country of Mulanpi (a transliteration of Al-Murābiṭūn, an Arabic name used by the Almoravid dynasty in Morocco and Spain.). A ship that sets sail from the country of Tuopandi in Dashi will arrive in this country after more than a hundred days of sailing due west. *[Hirth and Rockhill identified Tuopandi as the port of Damietta, and subsequent commentators have accepted this. The big sea between Dashi and Mulanpi is evidently the Mediterranean.]*

Each of these ships can hold several thousand people (exaggerated description) and contains taverns and restaurants, weaving looms, and other such amenities. Among ships, there are none as large as those from Mulanpi.

The products of this country are amazing indeed. Each grain of wheat is three inches long; each melon is six feet around and can feed twenty to thirty people. The pomegranates weigh five catties (about 7 lbs), the peaches weigh two catties (2-3 lbs), the citrons weigh more than twenty catties (28 lbs), and a bunch of lettuce weighs more than ten catties (14 lbs) and has leaves three to four feet long.

They store their rice and wheat in underground pits for several tens of years without spoiling. *[Grain storage in subterranean silos has a long history in the Mediterranean region. This was, however, alien to the Chinese, who typically built above-ground granaries.]*

They produce a breed of western (Hu) sheep that stands several feet tall and has a large tail shaped like a fan. In the spring, they slit the sheep bellies open and extract several tens of catties of fat. Then they sew the bellies back up and the sheep survive. If they do not take the fat out, however, the sheep will swell up and die.

After one travels across this country by land for two hundred days, the days shorten to just six hours. There, in the autumn months, the west wind suddenly rises and both people and animals must quickly find

water to drink in order to survive. If they are just slightly too slow, they will die of thirst.

SECTION 44. WUSILI (Egypt)

The country of Wusili is under the authority of the country of Baida (Baghdad, i.e., the Abbasid caliphate). *[Wusili is written with characters homophonous to those earlier used for Wusili (Mosul). Hirth and Rockhill identified it as a transliteration of Miṣr, the Arabic name for Egypt, which Zhao Rukuo transliterated as Mixuli in the section on Dashi. This section, like much of the Dashi section, is therefore based on reports about Ayyubid Cairo. The Ayyubids pledged their formal allegiance to the Sunni Abbasid caliphate, unlike the Shia Fatimid caliphate that they had displaced in 1171.]*

The king of this country is fair-skinned and wears a turban, a foreign-style shirt, and black boots. When he leaves his palace, he rides a horse and is preceded by three hundred outriders, their saddles and bridles ornamented with gold and jewels. There are ten tigers in his entourage, leashed with iron chains. They are accompanied by a hundred tiger tamers and fifty men to hold the chains. There are also a hundred men carrying clubs, thirty men with hunting falcons on their arms, a thousand cavalymen in escort, and three hundred trusted slaves with armor and swords. Two royal arms-bearers go before the king, while behind him ride a hundred drummers. The entire entourage is very grand.

The people of this country eat only bread and meat, not rice.

This country is prone to drought. It has sixteen prefectures, covering an area equivalent to more than sixty days' travel. When there is rain, it destroys the people's crops by washing them away, rather than watering them. There is a river there whose water is extremely clear and sweet-tasting. No one knows its source, but in years of drought, the rivers in all other countries in the region will dry up, whereas this river's water level remains unchanged. It provides ample water for farming, and the peasants rely on it for irrigation year after year. There are people in this country who have lived to the age of seventy or eighty without ever seeing rain. *[This is a description of the Nile River, the annual flooding of which was also described in the section on Dashi.]*

There is an old story there that the third-generation descendant of one Puluohong (Ibrahim/Abraham), named Shisu (Yusuf/Joseph), once ruled this country. Because there was no rain, he feared that droughts would occur. He therefore selected land near the river and set up three hundred and sixty villages, all of which planted wheat. Every year, these villages provided food for the people's daily needs, each village supplying the wheat for one day. In this way, these three hundred and sixty villages produced enough food for a year. *[Zhao Rukuo probably heard this*

distorted version of Joseph's career as vizier of Egypt from a Muslim informant, perhaps as an explanation for the origin of the Faiyum oasis.]

This country has a prefecture called Qiye (Cantonese pronunciation: Hei-ia = al-Qāhirah = Cairo) by the banks of the river. Every two or three years, an old man emerges from the river's waters; his hair is black and short, while his beard is all white. He sits on a rock in the river, showing only his upper body, scooping water up to wash his face and clipping his fingernails. The people of this country, seeing him and recognizing him as a magical being, approach him and respectfully inquire as to whether they will have good or ill fortune this year. If the old man says nothing but appears to smile, then the year will be a bountiful one and the people will not suffer from plagues. If he frowns and knits his brows, however, then there will surely be a bad harvest or a plague either that year or the year after. After sitting there for a long time, he disappears back into the water.

In the river, there live water camels (rhinoceros?) and water horses (hippotamus) who occasionally go up onto the banks to eat grass. Upon seeing people, they dive back into the river.

SECTION 45. EGENTUO (Alexandria)

The country of Egentuo is a vassal of Wusili (Egypt). *[Hirth and Rockhill identified Egentuo (Fujian dialect pronunciation: Atkento) as a transliteration of al-'Iskandariyya, the Arabic name for Alexandria.]*

They have a legend that an ancient times, an extraordinary man named Cugeni built a great tower by the sea. At its base, he had two vaults dug and reinforced strongly with bricks. One of these vaults is used to store grain, and the other to store weapons. The tower is two thousand feet tall and wide enough for four horses to ascend abreast up to two thirds of its height. In the tower's centre is a big well that is connected to the great river (i.e., the Nile) by canals to [supply water to the defenders] in the event of a foreign invasion. The whole country's population can retreat into the tower to resist the enemy. From top to bottom, the tower can hold twenty thousand people, with some defending it and some going out to fight. On the tower's summit, there used to be a very large mirror. If a fleet from another country came to invade, the mirror reflected their image in advance and the people could then begin preparing to defend themselves. In recent years, a foreigner came to serve this tower as a cleaner. Several years passed and people ceased to have any suspicions about him. One day, he suddenly found an opportunity to steal the mirror, threw it into the sea, and left. *["Cugeni" (Cantonese: Tsougotnei) is a loose transliteration of Dhu al-Qarnayn, the legendary Islamic figure often identified with Alexander the Great. This passage is based on Arab legends about the Lighthouse of Alexandria, which in reality was about 380 ft. tall.]*

SECTION 46. YANTUOMAN (the Andaman Islands)

When sailing from Lanwuli (Lamuri) to Xilan (Sri Lanka), if the wind is not in one's favor, one's ship may drift to a place called Yantuoman (the Andaman Islands). It is a big archipelago in the sea with two islands, one big and one small. The smaller island is completely uninhabited, while the larger one covers an area of seventy li and has people living in it. Their bodies are as dark as black lacquer and they are cannibals who eat people alive. Sailors thus do not dare to anchor their ships at this shore. *[Marco Polo's account of the Andaman Islands was even more terrifying: "Now know in all truth that all the men of this island have heads like dogs and teeth and eyes like dogs; for I tell you that they are all like the heads of great mastiffs. They have a lot of spices; they are a very cruel people; they eat as many men as they can catch, if they are not their people." (trans. Kinoshita, 155) The Andamanese probably were no cannibals, but their tendency to kill all intruders gave rise to the belief that they were.]*

The island has no iron deposits at all, so the natives use sharpened pieces of giant clam and clam shell as knives. On the island is a sacred relic: a bed of pure gold on which lies a dead person whose body has not decayed for generations. It is guarded at all times by a giant snake with fur two feet long. No human being dares to come near to it.

There is a well there that overflows twice a year; when the water runs into the sea, any sand or rock touched by it turns into gold. All the people of this island make offerings to this well. If any copper, lead, iron, or tin is heated in the fire until it is red hot, and then cooled with this water, it immediately turns into gold.

There is an old story about a merchant ship that was wrecked; some of the sailors clung on to pieces of bamboo or wood and drifted to this island. After discovering that there was this sacred water there, they secretly filled bamboo tubes with it and then used a raft to drift on the waves to the country of Nanpi (Kozhikode/Calicut). They offered the water to the king of Nanpi, who tested it and found that it worked. The king then raised an army with the intention of conquering this island. But before the ship [carrying this army] could get to the island, it met with a violent storm and was blown back. Sailors from the ship who were washed overboard drifted to this island and were all eaten by the barbarians. One can presume that because this island has the golden bed with the strange person on it, it is protected by invisible spirits who will not allow people from outside to get close to it.

SECTION 47. KUNLUN CENGQI (the Swahili Coast)

(This entire section is based on information from the Lingwai daida. Cengqi transliterates Zangi, a Persian term (the Arabic form was Zanj) of uncertain origin applied most commonly (but not exclusively) to the Swahili Coast and its "black" Bantu-speaking inhabitants. Kunlun was a label applied to black-skinned people by the Chinese, so "Kunlun Cengqi"

literally means the "black Zangi." The large island mentioned here may be Madagascar, but it could also be another island like Pemba.)

The country of Kunlun Cengqi is in the southwestern sea and adjacent to a large island.

[On that island], one often sees a big peng bird so large that it blocks out the sun for a time when it flies. There are wild camels there and when the big peng bird sees them, it swallows them whole. Some people pick up the peng bird's feathers and cut off the hollow shafts to use as buckets for water.

This land produces large elephant tusks and rhinoceros horns.

To the west [of this country] there are islands (or "an island") in the sea that have many wild people. Their bodies are as dark as black lacquer and their hair is curly. [Slavers] lure them out with food and capture them to sell to the country of Dashi (the Arab world) as slaves*; they fetch a very high price. These slaves are entrusted with the keys to doors, since it is believed that they have no kinship* ties left [and therefore would not betray their masters].

[because the Islamic slave hunters usually killed everyone in the raided village 'who was not needed'. Slavery and the killing of Kafirs (non-Muslims) is principally not forbidden in the Koran but allowed "in the cause of Allah". When people discuss slavery these days, they always have in mind the one obvious end of slave trade, which are the 'evil' European or Western nations who have bought the slaves during the 16th to the 19th centuries; the other end of slave trade, and those have been the Muslims, the ones who have sold the slaves to the Europeans, are usually not mentioned, out of hypocrite political correctness. As the Koran is the Umm al-Kitab, the mother of books, considered by Muslims perfect and eternal, this part of Sharia law, as any other part of the Koran, cannot be altered or deleted; one of the reasons why Boko Haram, ISIS, and other Jihad groups do not act against the law but according to it.*

Due to al-Taqiyya, the sacred lie, the word 'abd' or 'raqiq' (slave) is rarely used in Islam, being more commonly replaced by some periphrasis, and the most common term in the Koran to refer to slaves is the expression ma malakat aymanukum, meaning "that which your right hands own" or "those whom your right hands possess". This term is found in 15 Koranic passages, making it the most common term for slaves. (Jonathan E. Brockopp (2006). "Slaves and slavery". In Jane Dammen McAuliffe (ed.). Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an. 5. Brill. pp. 57–58.)

Surah 23, Al-Muminun, of the Quran in verse 6 and Surah 17, Al-Maarij, in verse 30 both, in identical wording, draw a distinction between spouses and "those whom one's right hands possess", saying "their spouses or what their right hands possess"), while clarifying that sexual intercourse with either is permissible. Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi, one of the most revered mainstream Islamic scholars, explains that "two categories of

women have been excluded from the general command of guarding the private parts: (1st) wives, (2nd) women who are legally in one's possession". Islamic law, using the term *Ma malakat aymanukum* ("what your right hands possess") considered sexual relations with female slaves as lawful. Islam permits sexual relations between a male master and his female slave outside marriage. This is referred to in the Quran as *ma malakat aymanukum* or "what your right hands possess". (See *Tahfeem ul Qur'an* by Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi, Vol. 2 pp. 112-113 footnote 44; Also see commentary on verses [Quran 23:1]: Vol. 3, notes 7-1, p. 241; 2000, Islamic Publications). There are some restrictions on the master; he may not co-habit with a female slave belonging to his wife, neither can he have relations with a female slave if she is co-owned, or already married to a Muslim.

It is estimated that up to 90% of the native population of Zanzibar was enslaved. Roughly half the population of Madagascar was enslaved. During the Middle Ages, around 1 to 2 million Europeans were abducted as slaves by Muslims; and when the Muslim Turks blocked the pilgrims from safely visiting their holy sites in the Holy Land, it did not come as a surprise that the Pope ordered the launch of the Crusades.]

SECTION 48. SHAHUAGONG (Zamboanga)

(This section is based entirely on information from the *Lingwai daida*. Hirth and Rockhill identified the Shahuagong people as the Orang Laut of the Malacca Straits region, while Feng Chengjun suggested that Shahuagong was Sebuku island off Borneo and Yang Bowen suggested a location in Sabah. Other suggestions have included Sarawak, the Salabanka Islands or Simatang Island off Sulawesi, and the Zamboanga Peninsula of Mindanao [See wikipedia: Melanau people, 12th-13th century].)

Many of the people of the country of Shahuagong go out into the open sea on (Islamic*) pirate raids. When they take captives, they bind them and sell them to Shepo (Java) [as slaves].

[* The history of arrival and spread of Islam in Indonesia is unclear. There is the possibility that the first Muslims arrived directly from Arabia before the 8th or the 9th century. From the time of the third caliph of Islam, Uthman (644-656 AD), Muslim emissaries and merchants were arriving in China who must have passed through Indonesia sea routes from the Islamic world. It would have been through this contact that Arabic emissaries between 904 and the mid-12th century are thought to have become involved in the Sumatran trading state of Srivijaya.

The earliest accounts of the Indonesian archipelago date from the Abbasid Caliphate (1261–1517 AD). According to those early accounts, the Indonesian archipelago was famous among early Muslim sailors and

pirates, mainly due to its abundance of precious spice trade commodities such as nutmeg, cloves, galangal and many other spices.

The most reliable evidence of the early spread of Islam in Indonesia comes from inscriptions on tombstones and a limited number of travellers' accounts. The earliest legibly inscribed tombstone is dated 475 AH (1082 AD), although as it belongs to a non-Indonesian Muslim, there is doubt as to whether it was transported to Java at a later time.

The first evidence of Indonesian Muslims comes from northern Sumatra; Marco Polo, on his way home from China in 1292, reported at least one Muslim town; and the first evidence of a Muslim dynasty is the gravestone, dated 696 AH (1297 AD), of Sultan Malik al Saleh, the first Muslim ruler of Samudera Pasai Sultanate, with further gravestones indicating continued Islamic rule.

Admiral Zheng He, being a Muslim himself, is credited to have settled Chinese Muslim communities in Palembang and along the shores of Java, the Malay Peninsula, and the Philippines. These Muslims allegedly followed the Hanafi school in the Chinese language. This Chinese Muslim community was led by Hajji Yan Ying Yu, who urged his followers to assimilate and take local names.

Zheng He (1371–1433 or 1435), originally named Ma He, was a Hui (Muslim) court eunuch, explorer, diplomat, and fleet admiral during China's early Ming dynasty. As a favourite of the Yongle Emperor, whose usurpation he assisted, he rose to the top of the imperial hierarchy. Zheng commanded 7 expeditionary voyages to Southeast Asia, South Asia, Western Asia, and East Africa from 1405 to 1433. His larger ships stretched 400 feet in length (Columbus's Santa Maria, for comparison, was 85 feet). These carried hundreds of sailors on four tiers of decks. A trilingual stele left by the navigator was discovered on the island of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) shortly thereafter.]

SECTION 49. THE MALUONU (possibly the Maranao)

Further southeast [of Shahuagong] there are uncultivated islands inhabited by barbarian bandits called Maluonu. When a merchant ship is blown off course to this country, these bandits assemble in large numbers and capture the crew, tie them between large bamboo sticks, cook them over a fire, and eat them. The chiefs of these bandits bore holes in their teeth and decorate the holes with gold. They use the tops of human skulls as eating and drinking vessels. The deeper one goes into these islands, the more cruel the bandits are. [This section, too, is from the Lingwai daida. In Zhou Qufei's version, the first sentence reads, "Further southeast there is the country of Jinfo (jinfo guo), which has many uncultivated islands inhabited by barbarian bandits called Maluonu." Based on Shao-yun Yang's identification of Shahuagong as Zamboanga, the Maranao would seem to be the best fit, with the island of Mindanao misinterpreted as a number of islands separate from the Zamboanga

Peninsula. But the Maranao are not known to have practiced headhunting or cannibalism in pre-Islamic times, and it is unclear whether the ethnonym Maranao was used as early as the twelfth century. The identity of the Maluonu thus remains uncertain.]

SECTION 50. COUNTRIES OF WOMEN

Even further southeast is the country of women, where the water [in rivers?] constantly flows eastward. Every few years, the water overflows, and sometimes it carries with it lotus seeds that are more than a foot in length and peach stones that are two feet in length. People who find these present them to the female king. In the past whenever a ship drifted to this country, the women took the crew back to their homes. Within a few days, not one of them would be left alive. Finally, one clever man stole a boat in the night and fled. He thus escaped and was able to tell this tale. When the south wind blows at full force, the women of this country strip naked and are impregnated by the wind, always bearing only daughters. [This part of the section is taken directly from the Lingwai daida. Countries of women had appeared in Chinese ethnographic writing for centuries, but this particular story appears to be based on an Arabic model found in the tenth-century Ajaib al-Hind (The wonders of India), attributed to Buzurg Ibn Shahriyar of Ramhormuz.]

There is also a country of women in the western sea. In that land, three girls are born for every five boys. The king is a woman and the civil officials are all women; only the soldiers are men. Women are considered superior and have male attendants, whereas men are not allowed to have female attendants. When sons are born, they take their mother's family name. The climate is mostly cold and the people feed themselves by hunting with bows and arrows. They travel out to trade with Daqin (the Roman/Byzantine empire) and Tianzhu (India), earning very large profits. [This description of another country of women is based on the Tongdian rather than the Lingwai daida. The Tongdian in turn draws its account primarily from the Suishu. These sources only named India as a trade partner of the country of women; they also specified salt as the highly profitable commodity produced and traded. Both sources located the country of women south of the Pamirs, rather than in the "western sea," and stated the ruling family's name as Supi, which modern scholars have identified with the Sumpa kingdom of northeastern Tibet.]

SECTION 51. BOSI (possibly Mombasa, southern Kenya)

(Mombasa is a harbour city in southeast Kenya at the Indian Ocean. The founding of Mombasa is associated with two rulers: Mwana Mkisi and Shehe Mvita. According to legend, Mwana Mkisi is the original ancestor of Mombasa's oldest lineages within Thenashara Taifa (or Twelve Swahili Nations). Families associated with the Twelve Nations are still considered the original inhabitants of the city and the keepers of local traditions. The

exact founding date of the city is unknown, but it has a long history. Kenyan school history books place the founding of Mombasa as 900 A.D. It must have been already a prosperous trading town in the 12th century, as the Arab geographer al-Idrisi mentions it in 1151. The oldest stone mosque in Mombasa, Mnara, was built c. 1300.)

The country of Bosi is situated in the southwestern sea. Its people have very black skin and curly hair down to their temples. They wrap their bodies with flower-patterned blue cloth and wear a golden bangle on each arm. They do not have walled cities. Their king holds court in the morning sitting cross-legged on a stool covered with a tiger skin. His subjects prostrate themselves before leaving his presence. When he goes out of his palace, he is either carried on a hammock litter or rides an elephant. He has an entourage of more than a hundred men carrying swords to protect him. The people eat bread, meat, and rice from porcelain vessels, picking their food up with their hands. *[This ethnographic section is taken from the Lingwai daida. Since Zhou Qufei also described Kunlun Cengqi (the Swahili Coast) as situated "in the southwestern sea," Shao-yun Yang suggests that Bosi should be interpreted as transliterating the name of a location in East Africa, perhaps Mombasa.]*

SECTION 52. CHABISHA (Jabulsa)

The capital of the country of Chabisha covers an area of over one thousand li square. Its king wears a military robe with a gold belt. He wears a gold crown and black boots. The women wear shirts made with pearls. This land produces very large amounts of gold and jewels. The people live in seven-storied homes, with each floor housing one family.

This country is filled with light and is where the sun goes down. In the evening, when the sun enters the city, it makes a rumbling sound louder than thunder. So they always station a thousand men at the city gates to blow trumpets and beat gongs and drums to drown out the noise of the sun. If not, then pregnant women and small children would die of fright upon hearing the sun. *[Hirth and Rockhill identified Chabisha as the mythical city of Jabulsa from Shia Muslim lore. Jabulsa was believed to be at the western end of the world, while its twin Jabulqa was at the eastern end. Both cities were associated with the legendary Mount Qaf and the Hidden Imam of Twelver Shiism. In the early Basa'ir al-darajat, these cities were inhabited by archetypal believers who are waiting for the appearance of the Qa'im. In the Kitab al-haft wa-l-azilla (8th–11th century AD), transmitted by Nasayri Shi'a, the sixth Imam al-Sadiq states that the Qa'im will live in these cities. Each city has 12,000 gates, each of which is guarded by 12,000 men until the Day of Resurrection, when the Qa'im will appear.]*

Zhao Rukuo's version of the myth seems to be indirectly adapted from Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari (839-923 AD (224-310 AH), who attributed

the following teachings to the Prophet Muhammad: "These are two cities, one in the East and one in the West. Djaboulqa is in the East and Djaboulsa in the West. These cities are of emerald and both are linked to the mountain Qaf. They are both twelve thousand parasang in length and twelve thousand parasang in width."

SECTION 53. SIJIALIYE (Sicily)

The country of Sijialiye (Sicily) is near the border of Lumei. It is an island in the sea, a thousand li across. Its clothing, customs, and spoken language are the same as those of Lumei (the Latin / Roman language of the Roman Empire) [This is the first description of Sicily, indeed of any part of Italy, in a Chinese source. Zhao Rukuo probably based it on information provided by Arab merchants. Hirth and Rockhill understood "Lumei" in this section to be referring to either the Byzantine Empire or the city of Rome; Yang Bowen believed it to be Rome. Since in 1225 Constantinople was ruled by the Latin Empire (which also used the name "Rome"), Zhao Rukuo's informant may have been referring to cultural and linguistic affinity between the Crusaders and the Norman elite of Sicily. In 1225, Sicily was under the rule of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II.

In this country there is a very deep cave that spews out fire in all four seasons. From afar one can see it emitting smoke in the morning and fire in the evening. When one gets closer, then one can feel how hot the flames are. Groups of people in this country use poles to carry large stones weighing five hundred to a thousand catties (700-1,400 lbs) to the mouth of the cave and throw them in. In just a short time, there is an explosion and fragments of stone fly out like pumice. Once every five years, fire flows out of the stone [of the cave], running down to the coast and then turning back. The forests that it passes through do not catch fire, but the stones that it touches burn up and become like ashes. *[This is a description of the active volcano Mount Etna.]*

SECTION 54. MOQIELIE (the Maghreb, North Africa)

In the country of Moqielie (Cantonese: Makgalip = the Maghreb; that is al-Maghrib al-Arabi, "The Barbary coast" meaning North Africa without Egypt, Sudan or Ethiopia), the king chants scriptures and worships Heaven daily. He wears a turban, a woolen shirt, and red leather shoes. Their religion is the same as that of Dashi (the Arab world). The king rides a horse whenever he goes out from his palace, preceded by a camel that bears on its back a box containing the Buddhist sutras of Dashi. *[This is another example of how Zhao Rukuo interpreted Islam as a form of Buddhism.]*

This country rules over more than five hundred prefectures, each of which has a city. It has 10,000 troops who all travel on horseback. The people eat bread and meat; they grow wheat but not rice. Their land

abounds in cattle, sheep, camels, and fruits. The sea off their coast goes down to a depth of two hundred feet and produces coral trees (red coral). *[Whereas the earlier section on Mulanpi (the Almohad caliphate) seems to have focused on Morocco, the part of the Maghreb described here may be Ifriqiya, ruled by Almohad governors of the Hafsid family who would declare an independent sultanate at Tunis in 1229.]*

SECTION 55. BONI (Borneo)

(Johannes Kurz has published a translation of this section in "Boni in Chinese Sources: Translations of Relevant Texts from the Song to the Qing Dynasties," Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre Working Paper Series No. 4 (2011). Shao-yun Yang's interpretation of the text differs from Kurz's in some places.)

Boni (Borneo) lies to the southeast of Quanzhou, forty-five days' travel from Shepo (Java), forty days' travel from Sanfoqi (Srivijaya), and thirty days' travel from Zhancheng (Champa) and Mayi (Mindoro). These travel times are based on sailing with a favourable wind*.

[A good explanation for the discrepancy in travel times between Java and Borneo, in comparison with the travel time from Java or Sumatra to East Africa, may be that the Java-Borneo travel times refer to journeys with a Chinese Junk, as against the high travel speed from Indonesia to East Africa, which was conducted not by Junks (whose hulls are much wider or bulkier) but with Austronesian catamarans (whose hulls are very slim and therefore allow a journey speed that is several times faster than the speed of a bulky junk).*

Just for consideration: The last tea clippers, also known as China clippers, were acknowledged as the fastest sail vessels. When fully rigged and riding a tradewind, they had peak average speeds of over 16 knots (30 km/h). The origin of the word "clipper" derived, of course, from the verb "to clip", meaning "cut off time."

A journey from Hongkong to London reached the average of 125 days (4 months) journey time in 1868; that was before the Suez Canal opened in 1869 giving steamships a route about 3,000 nautical miles (5,550 km) shorter than that taken by sailing ships round the Cape of Good Hope.

So, while a heavy sailing ship in the 17th century might develop an average speed of 6 knots (8.25 km/h), and make 144 nautical miles (266 km) in a day, a steamer of the 19th century would manage an average of 9 knots (16.5 km/h) and travel 216 nautical miles (399 km). A tea clipper of the 19th century, however, was faster still and had an average speed of 15 knots and could travel over 300 nautical miles (550 km); the records were 18 knots (33 km/h), and over, and so making over 400 nautical miles (740 km) in one day. See: 16. Shepo (Java, Indonesia).]

This country has a capital city with walls made of wooden boards. The city has over ten thousand inhabitants and rules over fourteen

prefectures. [This information is from the Taiping huanyu ji, which mentions "fourteen kingdoms of small mountain prefectures".]

The king's residence is roofed with palm leaves, while those of the common people are thatched with grass. The king's clothing is colored in imitation of that of the Central Lands, but if he goes naked and barefoot, then he wears golden bangles on his arms and golden chains on his wrists and wraps his body with a cotton cloth. He sits on a bed woven with rope. When going out, he sits by himself on a large cotton cloth carried by his attendants; they call this a ruannang.

The king's entourage has more than five hundred men. Those in front carry swords and other weapons; those behind carry gold plates filled with camphor and betel nuts. The king is also protected by over a hundred warships (or war canoes). In battle, the soldiers wield swords and wear armor cast from bronze in the shape of large tubes. They fit the armor over their bodies to protect both the front and the back. Their household vessels are mostly made of gold.

This land has no wheat. It has hemp and rice, and they use sago as their staple food. (Original note: On sago, see the section on Huangmazhu.) They also have sheep, chickens, and fish. They do not have silkworms and instead use kapok fibers to weave cotton cloth.

They have the nipa palm, the jiameng (sugar) palm, and the coconut palm; they draw sap from the hearts of all these trees to make wine.

Their women from rich families wrap patterned brocade or silk with gold threads around their waists. When arranging a marriage, they first exchange gifts of wine, then betel nuts, then rings, and finally kapok cloth or the equivalent value in gold and silver to complete the rites. They use coffins for their dead, but instead of burying them, they carrying them into the mountains on biers made of bamboo and leave them there. When they begin ploughing in the second month of the year, they make offerings to the deceased. After seven years have passed, they cease to do so. They celebrate the New Year on the seventh day of the twelfth month. The climate in this land is usually hot. When the people hold banquets, they make music by beating drums, blowing flutes, striking gongs, and singing and dancing. They do not use vessels for eating; rather, they weave bamboo leaves and palm leaves into cups and throw these away as soon as they have finished their meals.

This country is next to the country of Dimen. *[Hirth and Rockhill identified this as Timor (which may be the "Diwu" mentioned in the Sujidan section); Yang Bowen identified it as Tioman Island. Neither theory is ideal, but Timor is much more likely. In Fujian dialect, Dimen would be Timung.]*

It has a tree used for medicine. One digs out its root, cooks it into a paste, and ingests it or smears it on one's body. This allows one to survive being cut with bladed weapons. [The plant described here is likely to be Eurycomia Longifolia, known locally by various names including tongkat ali; another plant that could be meant is Liquorice

(British English) or Licorice (American English) which is the common name of *Glycyrrhiza Glabra*. The roots of either plant has their aromatic flavour extracted for medical use.]

This land produces camphor of the plum flower, su, gold foot, and rice grain varieties, as well as beeswax, lakawood, and tortoiseshell. Foreign merchants who come here to trade can use trade-quality gold, trade-quality silver, false brocade, Jianyang brocade, five-colored spun silk, five-colored silk velvet, opaque glass beads, opaque glass bottles, white (refined) tin, black lead, fishing net weights, ivory bangles, rouge, lacquered bowls and plates, and blue porcelain ware. *[The Taiping huanyu ji lists the local products of Boni as camphor, tortoiseshell, sappanwood, betel nuts, cloves, and ebony. Zhao Rukuo presumably obtained his list from merchants, as the two lists share only two items in common.]*

Three days after a foreign ship arrives at these shores, the king and his family lead the "big men" (Original note: The king's attendants are called "big men," daren) to the ship to welcome its passengers. The ship's crew covers the gangplank with brocade to receive these visitors and serves them fine wine, while handing out presents of gold and silver vessels, fine robes, straw mats, and parasols according to rank. When the merchants have disembarked and gone ashore, they do not immediately speak of matters pertaining to trade. Instead, every day they offer to the king food and drink made in the style of the Central Lands. That is why any ship that sails to Foni (i.e., Boni) must bring one or two good cooks along.

On the first and fifteenth day of every lunar month, the merchants go together to offer their greetings to the king. After a month or more has passed, the merchants finally invite the king and his "big men" to negotiate prices. Once the terms of trade have been decided, drums are beaten to inform people near and far that they may now come and trade. Anyone who engages in clandestine trade before the prices are fixed is punished under the law. Their custom is to treat merchants with respect; any merchant who commits a capital offense is let off with a lighter sentence. On the day of the ship's departure, the king serves wine and has a water buffalo slaughtered to give the merchants a farewell feast. He gifts them camphor and cotton cloth in equal proportion to the presents he received from them. Even though the trade has concluded, the ship always waits until the Buddhist festival on the fifteenth day of the sixth month has passed; only then does it leave the harbour. Otherwise, it is sure to meet with perilous storms at sea. *[No major Buddhist festival coincides with the fifteenth day of the sixth lunar month. Since Zhao Rukuo was apt to interpret every foreign religion as Buddhism, it is likely that the festival mentioned here was actually a Hindu Purnima festival.]*

They make no images* of the Buddha whom they worship. Instead, they have a thatched hut with several floors, built like a pagoda, and on the first floor is a shrine containing two pearls that they call the Sacred

Buddhas. The local people say, "These pearls were small in the beginning, but they have gradually grown to the size of thumbs." On a Buddhist festival, the king himself makes offerings of flowers and fruit to the pearls for three days. All the people of this country, both men and women, come to pay their respects to them. [** This statement sounds more like Islam in which, like in Judaism, it is forbidden to make "graven images of God."*]

In 1521, Antonio Pigafetta visited Brunei and heard that the local king had two pearls the size of hen's eggs that he had captured from the king of Sulu. Hirth and Rockhill wondered whether these were the same pearls mentioned by Zhao Rukuo, and some later historians have assumed that they were, but this seems doubtful given the gap of three centuries separating the accounts.

In the second year of the Taiping Xingguo era (977), this country sent the envoy Pu Yali (Abu Ali) and others to present a tribute of camphor, tortoiseshell, ivory, and sandalwood. The letter from this country's ruler was sealed in multiple wrappers and written on paper that resembled thin bark. The paper was glossy and smooth and slightly greenish in hue. It was several feet long, about an inch wide, and when rolled up could be held in just one hand. The writing on it was thin and small and read horizontally. Translated into Chinese, it read: "I, the king of Boni, Xiangda, prostrate myself before you. May you, O Emperor, live for thousands and thousands of years!" It also read: "I have sent tribute every year, but it is easily blown off course to Zhancheng (Champa). I beg you to issue an edict commanding Zhancheng to stop detaining my tribute missions from this point onward." The envoys were given lodging in the Foreign Relations Office and sent home with generous gifts. In the fifth year of the Yuanfeng era (1082), they sent another tribute mission. [This passage includes information from the Taiping huanyu ji but adds other details. Fuller accounts of the Boni mission of 977, including a full transcript of the king's letter, are found in the fourteenth-century Wenxian tongkao and Song shi. Johannes Kurz has translated both sources in Kurz, "Boni in Chinese Sources."]

The countries of Xilonggong (possibly Selingaan Island), Shimiao, Rili (possibly Jelai), Hulumantou, Suwu, Lima, Danyu, and Manuo (possibly Berau) are located on islands in the sea. Their people travel to and fro in small boats, and their clothing and diet are the same as those of Boni. They produce sheng agarwood, lakawood, beeswax, and tortoiseshell. Merchants can trade for these with white porcelain ware, wine, rice, coarse salt, white spun silk, and trade-quality gold. [*Many toponyms have probably fallen out of use over the centuries and have gone unrecorded in other sources. Mantou (Fujian dialect: Bantau) may be the place name Bandar (port), derived from Persian, that occurs for example in Bandar Seri Begawan, the capital of Brunei. Yang also proposed the following reconstructions: Xilonggong = Sarawak; Shimiao = Sambas; Rili = the River Jelai-Bila; Hulumantou = the Karimata Islands; Suwuli = Suai,*

Sarawak; Madanyumanuo = Banjarmasin (Yang argues that the last character is mistranscribed and should read xi.) Of these, only the identification of Rili seems plausible to me from a linguistics perspective, and I have adapted it by identifying Rili as Jelai.]

SECTION 56. MAYI (Mindoro or Bay)

The country of Mayi is to the north of Boni (Borneo). More than a thousand families live in a single settlement on both sides of a river.

The local people wear either a sheet of cotton cloth like a cloak, or just a cotton loincloth. There are bronze statues of the Buddha scattered in fields of grass, but no one knows where they are from.

There are few bandits in this country. Upon arriving at its shores, a merchant ship will enter its harbor and moor in front of the official marketplace, where all trade in this country takes place. The local people board the ship and mix freely with the crew. The chiefs here use white parasols daily, so merchants always present such parasols to them as parting gifts. Trading starts with the barbarian merchants coming in large groups and carrying the goods away on bamboo rafts (pili; or "carrying baskets"?).

Initially, the Chinese merchants do not understand what is going on, and only gradually do they come to recognize the faces of the men carrying the goods. Yet there is never any loss of goods through theft. The barbarian merchants take the goods to other islands and sell them; they usually return after about eight or nine months and pay the ship-merchants their share of the profit. Some return later than expected, and that is why ships that go to Mayi to trade take the longest to come back.

Vassal states of this country include: the Three Islands (Palawan and the Calamian Islands), Baipuyan (the Babuyan Islands), Pulilu (Pollilo Island), Liyin Dong (possibly Lingayen Gulf), Liuxin (possibly Luzon), and Lihan (possibly Lian).

This land produces beeswax, kapok, pearls, tortoiseshell, betel nut mixed with aromatics, and yuda cloth. Foreign merchants trade for them using porcelain ware, trade-quality gold, iron cauldrons, black lead, five-coloured opaque glass beads, and iron needles.

SECTION 57. THE THREE ISLANDS (Palawan and the Calamian Islands)

The Three Islands are vassal states of Mayi (Mindoro or Bay). They are called Jiamayan (Calamian), Balaoyou (Palawan), and Bajinong (possibly Busuanga). Each has its own peoples living scattered among the islands. When merchant ships arrive, they come out to trade. They are collectively called the Three Islands. *[Calamian Islands or Calamianes, Province of Palawan, western Philippines: Most commentators have interpreted the Three Islands as Palawan and the Calamian island group, although the identification of Bajinong (Fujian dialect: Pakitlong) as Busuanga remains*

somewhat uncertain on phonetic grounds. It may render a defunct name for another island in the area.]

Their customs are essentially the same as those of Mayi. Each settlement includes about a thousand families. The terrain is very mountainous, with range after range of steep cliffs like walls. The local people live on high and inaccessible ground for safety, building houses out of rushes. There is no water in the mountains, so the women balance two or three stacked pitchers on their heads to get water from the rivers. When they go back up into the mountains [with their jugs filled], they walk as surely as if on level ground.

In the remote valleys of these islands, there live another kind of people called the Haidan (Aeta). They are small in stature, with round yellow eyes, curly hair, and prominent teeth. They live in nests in the treetops. Sometimes they form bands of three to five and wait in ambush in the undergrowth to shoot arrows at people passing through. Many people have been thus killed by them. But if one throws a porcelain bowl at them, they will stoop down, pick it up, and run away, leaping and shouting with joy.

Whenever foreign merchants arrive at a settlement, they dare not go ashore immediately. Instead, they weigh anchor in mid-stream and beat drums to attract the locals. Barbarian merchants then race to the ship in small canoes, bringing with them kapok, beeswax, native cloth, and coir matting to trade with the foreign merchants.

If they cannot agree on a price, then the chief of the merchants comes himself to negotiate. The foreign merchants give him presents of silk parasols, porcelain vessels, and rattan baskets. One or two local men remain on the ship as hostages, while the foreign merchants go ashore to trade. Once the trading is concluded, the hostages are handed over. Every merchant ship only stops for three or four days before moving on to another settlement. The barbarians live all along the shores of the Three Islands and every settlement is independent of the others.

Their mountains (or islands) run in a northeastern direction, and when the south[west] wind blows in, great waves dash against the mountains (or islands). The breakers roll so fast that ships cannot anchor there securely. For that reason, merchants coming to trade in the Three Islands usually (shuai) prepare to make their return voyage in the fourth or fifth lunar month. *[The ships left the islands around May or June before the easterly amihan wind shifted to the southwest monsoon (habagat), which would threaten to dash ships against the islands.]*

When trading in this country, merchants use porcelain ware, black damask, resist-dyed silk, five-colored "burned" beads, lead fishnet weights, and refined tin.

SECTION 58. PULILU (Polillo Island,)

(Polillo is an island in the northeastern region of the Philippines. It is the largest island and the namesake of the Polillo Islands. It is separated from the large Luzon Island by the Polillo Strait and forms the northern side of Lamon Bay.)

Pulilu is connected to the Three Islands, and its settlements are slightly larger. Many of its people are fierce and violent, given to pillaging and banditry.

There are many coral reefs in the sea in these parts, their undulating surfaces looking like withered tree trunks or knife blades. The reefs are sharper than swords and halberds, and ships passing by them must be prepared to maneuver sharply to avoid them. This place produces blue langgan coral and coral trees (red coral), but these are extremely hard to obtain. The local customs and trade goods are the same as those of the Three Islands.

SECTION 59. LIUQIU (Taiwan or Okinawa)

(This section is almost entirely adapted from the seventh-century Suishu, which describes a country of "Liuqiu " that a Sui military expedition briefly invaded in 610. Liuqiu, rendered with the slightly different characters, became the standard Chinese name for the Ryukyu Kingdom in Ming and Qing times. But "Ryukyu" was not an indigenous Okinawan toponym as of the early Ming. Rather, it was a new name for the newly unified Okinawan kingdom that the Ming court conferred around 1430, apparently based on a belief that Okinawa was the "Liuqiu" described in Chinese sources since the Sui dynasty.)

The country of Liuqiu is to the east of Quanzhou and is five or six days' travel [from Quanzhou] by sea.

Its king's family name is Huansi and the local people address him as Kelao. The king's residence is called Boluotan Cave. It has three layers of moats and fences and is surrounded by rivers and briar patches. The halls of the palace are carved with many images of animals. [After the king refused to submit to Chinese suzerainty and attacked the Sui expedition, the expedition sacked and burned his palace, killed him, and left with thousands of his subjects as prisoners. The palace had sixteen rooms with carved animal images and, according to a different part of the account, was also decorated with heaps of human skulls. Taiwan did originally not belong to the Chinese civilisation. The native inhabitants of Taiwan have been Austronesians who are related to the people of the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Madagascar.]

The men and women tie their hair up with rope made of white ramie fiber, coiling it into a knot on the back of the head. They also make clothes of varying styles out of different types of ramie cloth and fur. They weave hats out of rattan and decorate them with bird feathers. Their weapons include single-edged swords, lances, bows and arrows,

double-edged swords, and drums. They join pieces of bear and leopard skin together into armor.

They ride carriages carved in the shape of animals, with only several tens of men in an entourage.

They do not have regular taxation; when there is a need, then they tax everyone equally. They do not have calendars and simply keep track of the passing of time by observing the waxing and waning of the moon. Fathers and sons sleep in the same bed. They boil seawater to make salt and ferment rice to make wine. When they come across a rare delicacy, they offer it first to their respected elders. For meat, they have bears, jackals, and wolves. They have particularly large numbers of pigs and chickens, but no cattle, sheep, donkeys, or horses.

The soil in this country is fertile. They first use fire to burn [the forest] and then channel water to irrigate the land. Finally, they hoe the land to a depth of just a few inches and plant their crops. [The Suishu lists these crops as rice, millet, hemp, and several varieties of beans.]

They have no particularly appealing products and are very fond of banditry; for these reasons, merchants do not go there to trade. The local people take their beeswax, local gold, water buffalo tails, and leopard meat jerky to the Three Islands for sale. Their neighboring countries include Pisheye (the Visayans) and Tanmayan.

SECTION 60. THE PISHEYE (the Visayans or Bisayans)

The Pisheye speak a language incomprehensible to us [*which is not surprising as Bisayan is an Austronesian language that has nothing to do with Chinese*], and our merchants do not go to their country. They go around naked, in a state of primitive savagery, as if they were animals. Off Quanzhou there is an island in the sea, called Penghu, which is under the jurisdiction of Jinjiang county. This island is so near to the country of the Pisheye that the smoke from their fires can be seen. The Pisheye occasionally come on pillaging raids, without any warning, and many people [of Penghu] have been eaten alive by them. This is a source of great misery for them. During the Chunxi era (1174-1189), the chiefs of this country often led several hundreds of their followers on sudden raids on villages near Quanzhou, including Shui'ao and Weitou. They indulged in violence and brutality, killing countless people; the women were raped before being killed. They are fond of iron implements and spoons and chopsticks. People could escape from them by shutting their doors, as they would simply cut off the iron door knockers and leave. If one threw [iron] spoons and chopsticks at them, they would stoop to pick these up, and that would slow them down a little [and allow one to escape]. When our troops came to apprehend them, they saw our cavalry clad in iron armor and rushed forward to cut the armor off; all were then killed by our troops, showing no sign of regret [for their recklessness]. In battle, they use javelins to which they tie ropes more than a hundred feet

long; they use the rope to retrieve a thrown javelin, presumably because they value iron so much that they cannot bear to throw it away. They do not use ships or boats and instead rely on bamboo rafts. These rafts can be folded up like a folding screen, so when they need to retreat in a hurry, the entire group swims away carrying their folded rafts. *[In 1887, Terrien de Lacouperie identified these Pisheye people, by their Austronesian language, as closely related to people in the Philippines. As we know now, they belong to a huge group of humans whom we call today "Austronesians." The history of these islands began much earlier. Fossilised remains of Homo erectus, also known as the "Java Man", suggest that the Austronesian Islands [also called the "Southeast Asian archipelago," today Indonesia, Malaysia, Taiwan, and the Philippines] were inhabited two million to 500,000 years ago. Homo sapiens reached the region around 43,000 BC. Austronesian peoples, who form the majority of the modern population, migrated to Southeast Asia probably from what is now Taiwan. They arrived in the archipelago around 2,000 BC and confined the native Melanesian peoples to the far eastern regions as they spread east. Ideal agricultural conditions and the mastering of wet-field rice cultivation as early as the eighth century BC allowed villages, towns, and small kingdoms to flourish by the first century AD. During the first millenium AD, they spread farther to Melanesia, parts of Australia, Polynesia, Hawaii, New Zealand, Easter Islands, Madagascar. Basically, they spread by boat in an area from East Africa to South America, around half the globe - an amazing success story of colonisation.]*

SECTION 61. XINLUO (Korea)

(Zhao Rukuo refers to Korea by the obsolete name Silla rather than by the name of the Goryeo (Koryŏ) kingdom that replaced Silla in 935. The identification of Silla as descended from the Byeonhan confederacy comes from the Jiu Tangshu and Xin Tangshu and is probably an error. The Liangshu, Beishi, and Tongdian instead identify Silla's ancestors as the Jinhan / Chinha confederacy.

The Korean language has nothing to do with Chinese but is an Altaic language like Japanese and Turkic. It is an agglutinative and synthetic language, meaning: the words have lots of different endings according to their grammatical needs.

Since the 1st century BC, three Kingdoms ruled in Korea: Goguryeo in the North; 37 BC–668 AD; Baekje in the Southwest: 18 BC–660 AD; Silla in the Southeast: 57 BC–935 AD.

Silla or Shilla, was the main ruler of the South of Korea for about 1,000 years while Goguryeo (also Koguryo; "Gaogouli" in Chinese) ruled over the North of Korea and parts that are now the Northeast of China beyond the River Yalu. In 3 AD, the second ruler of Goguryeo, King Yuri [38 BC–18 AD, r. 19 BC–18 AD), moved the state's capital from Jolbon to Gungnae (Korean) or Guonei (Mandarin), which is in modern Ji'an City, Jilin Province,

northeast China, and established the mountain fortress Hwando nearby to defend it. Hwando was sacked by Wei State in 244 AD during the Goguryeo–Wei War. In 342 AD, Hwando was destroyed and thousands of people captured by the Murong Xianbei, after which Goguryeo focussed on expanding south and east. Finally, in 427 AD, the eleventh ruler of Goguryeo, King Jangsu [394–491, r. 413–491], moved the capital to Pyongyang. Gungnae's ruins, with its extensive area of pyramid tombs, just outside of present day Ji'an City, known as "Capital Cities and Tombs of the Ancient Koguryo Kingdom," have been listed as part of a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Goryeo (also Koryo, a shortened form of Goguryeo / Koguryo, was adopted as the official name in the 5th century, and is the origin of the English name "Korea".) was a new Korean kingdom founded in 918 AD, during a time of national division called the Later Three Kingdoms period, that unified and ruled the Korean Peninsula until 1392 AD. Goryeo unified the Later Three Kingdoms and also incorporated much of the ruling class of the northern kingdom of Balhae, who had origins in Goguryeo of the earlier Three Kingdoms of Korea.)

The people of the country of Xinluo (Silla) are descended from the Bian-Han (Byeonhan / Pyŏnhan). [Zhao Rukuo refers to Korea by the obsolete name Silla rather than by the name of the Goryeo (Koryo) kingdom that replaced Silla in 935 AD.]

This country faces the mouth of Quanzhou harbour directly. But because of the customary taboos based on diviners' theories of north (zi) and south (wu), merchants must first go to Siming (Ningbo) and then embark [for Korea]. Some say that near Quanzhou, the water level gradually inclines downward, so one must pass through Siming [when going to Korea]. [The information here is drawn from the Jiu Tangshu and Xin Tangshu but is outdated and inaccurate. The Suishu, Tongdian, Jiu Tangshu, and Xin Tangshu all record the name of the king invested by the Tang (and before this the Sui) as Jin Zhenping (Kim Jinpyeong), not Zhenjin. The Kim family did rule in Silla for centuries, but the last four monarchs of Silla were from the Pak clan. By 1225, moreover, the Wang clan of Goryeo had ruled Korea for nearly three centuries.]

They have two aristocratic clans: the Jin (Kim) and the Pu (Pak). In the Wude era (618-627) of the Tang, its ruler Zhenjin received investiture as Prince of Lelang Commandery, and his descendants have ruled since then.

During the Kaiyao era (681-682), this country sent an envoy to the Tang court to request copies of its ritual code and other texts. This request was granted. [This is based on the Xin Tangshu, which conflates the date of the embassy with the date of the Silla king Munmu's death. The Jiu Tangshu correctly records the embassy's date as 686. Empress Wu, then ruling the Tang as regent, granted Silla a copy of the ritual code for

weddings and funerals and fifty scrolls of didactic literature selected from the Wenguan cilin anthology.]

Their architecture, implements, clothing, and official ranks are all roughly modeled on those of the Central Lands. Their laws are severe for the sake of ensuring obedience from the people. For that reason, few commit crimes and people are so honest that they will not even pick up lost items on the road. When arranging a marriage, they do not use betrothal gifts. The people are literate and fond of learning; even slaves and servants exert themselves in study. They have village schools with placards on the front that read jutang (bureau hall). Unmarried young men live in these schools and learn reading, writing, and archery. They hold civil service examinations every three years, including a presented scholar (Chinese jinshi, Korean jinsa) examination and a mathematics examination. That is why this country is known as the Country of Noble Men (junzi). [Jutang may be a misreading of shutang (seodang), the name for village schools in Goryeo. The first recorded instance of Silla being called a Country of Noble Men is in the Jiu Tangshu and Xin Tangshu accounts of Xing Shu's embassy to Silla in 737. Tang Xuanzong is quoted saying to Xing Shu, "Silla is known as the Country of Noble Men; its people are quite literate and numerate and are similar to the Chinese." Hirth and Rockhill (who Romanise Xing Shu's name as Hing Shou) incorrectly attribute the quote to Xing Shu himself.]

This land is suited to rice cultivation. It has camels* and water buffaloes. The people do not use coins and simply barter with rice. The common people make all their household implements out of copper. They have two kinds of music, called Storehouse Music (kuyue) and Folk Music (xiangyue, Korean: hyangak). [** This passage is based on information provided to the Song court by a Goryeo envoy in 1015 (and recorded in Songshi 487.14043-14044), but it makes at least one error. The envoy actually said that Goryeo did not have sheep, rabbits, camels, water buffaloes, and donkeys. Goryeo did not have a functioning coinage system as of 1015, but it began minting copper and silver coins around 1100. As of 1225, the silver currency was much more popular but coexisted with the use of unofficial units of silver.*]

During the Kaiyuan era (713-742), the Tang court sent Xing Shu to this country as an envoy to convey the emperor's condolences.

During the Tongguang (923-926) and Changxing (930-934) eras of the Five Dynasties, this country sent envoys to present tribute. In the second year of our dynasty's Jianlong era (961), it sent an envoy to present tribute. It did so again in the second year of the Taiping Xingguo era (977). [*Tongguang and Changxing were reign eras of the Later Tang dynasty. These tribute missions were sent by Wang Geon, the founder of Goryeo. Zhao Rukuo omits mention of tribute missions from Goryeo after 977, but the Northern Song did maintain regular diplomatic contact with Goryeo until the 1030s. After a forty-year interruption, contact resumed in*

the 1070s and grew increasingly frequent until the eve of the Jurchen invasion. Contact was only sporadic under the Southern Song and ceased entirely after the 1160s, perhaps because of the prolonged instability in Goryeo resulting from the military seizure of power in 1170.]

The people of this country believe in ghost and spirits and have many taboos. When an ambassador from the Central Lands arrives, they must first pick an auspicious day before they can receive our emperor's edict with the proper protocol. In response to an imperial edict, [their king] always writes a letter of thanks in a fairly good literary style.

The land produces ginseng, mercury, musk, pine nuts, hazelnuts, disk abalone, pine cones, siler (fangfeng), giant typhonium (baifuzi), poria (fuling), cotton cloth of various sizes, ramie fiber cloth, bronze chimes, porcelain ware, grass matting, and brushes made with mouse whiskers. Merchant ships use five-colored resist-dyed silk and printed books from Jianyang to trade for them.

SECTION 62. WO (Japan)

(This section is a mixture of information from three different categories of sources: 1. Pre-Song ethnographic accounts of Japan from the Sanguo zhi, the Liangshu, and the Jiu Tangshu; 2. Information provided to the Song court by the visiting Japanese Buddhist monk Chōnen in 984 [See Wang Zhenping, "Chōnen's Pilgrimage to China, 983-986." Asia Major, Third Series, 7, no. 2 (1994): 63-97]; 3. Information that Zhao Rukuo gathered from his own informants.)

The country of Wo (Japanese: Wa) is to the northeast of Quanzhou and is now called Riben (Japanese: Nippon = Japan). It is thus named because it is near where the sun rises. But some say that it renamed itself because it disliked the old name. *[The renaming of Japan from Wo / Wa to Riben / Nippon is believed to have occurred around 670. The Jiu Tangshu reflects Tang historians' confusion as to why this renaming occurred: "The country of Riben is an offshoot of the country of Wo. It is called Riben ("the sun's origin") because it is close to the rising sun. Some say that the country of Wo disliked its name, finding it inelegant, and so renamed itself as Riben. And yet others say that Riben was originally a small country that conquered the country of Wo. People from this country who come to our court tend to exaggerate its greatness rather than tell the truth. That is why the Central Lands is uncertain [as to where its name comes from]."* By Song times, the Chinese recognized that Wo and Riben were names for the same country, but the reasons for the name change remained unclear. Even Japanese sources do not explain it.]

This country measures several thousand li across from east to west and north to south. To the southwest, it extends to the sea. To the northeast, it borders on tall mountains, beyond which is the land of the Hairy Men (Emishi).

[This passage is based on the Jiu Tangshu. By Song times, it was out of date, as the Japanese state had completed its conquest of Emishi lands in Honshu (modern Hokkaido). Chōnen's description, quoted in the Songshi (491.14131), reflects the post-Tang situation: "The country's eastern border adjoins an island in the sea that is inhabited by barbarians (yiren; now called "Ainu") who have thick hair on their bodies and faces."]

It has five metropolitan prefectures (Ji), seven circuits (Dao), three outer islands (Dao), 3,772 villages (Xiang), 414 courier stations (Yi), and more than 883,000 adult men (Ding). *[This is based on written information provided by Chonen in 984. The Songshi version (SS 491.14134) has 3,772 cities (Du) and 883,329 adult men (Keding).]*

This land has many mountains and forests and no good arable land. The people like eating seafood. By custom, many of them tattoo their bodies; they claim to be descendants of Taibo. They also say that in distant antiquity, their envoys came to the Central Lands, calling themselves dafu. In the distant past, a son of King Shaokang of the Xia dynasty was enfeoffed at Kuaiji (or Guiji) [as ruler of Yue]; he cut his hair and tattooed his body to protect himself from scaly dragons in the rivers. Today, the people of Wo also tattoo their bodies to ward off sea creatures when diving to catch fish. Based on the route taken [by their envoys], this country is directly to the east of Kuaiji (Guiji). *[All of this information is copied from the seventh-century Jinshu, which in turn took nearly all of it from the third-century Sanguo zhi account of Wo, the first written description of Japan in any language.]*

Their seasons are largely similar to the Central Lands. Their king uses the surname Wang and his family has ruled continuously for more than seventy generations. Their civil and military posts are all hereditary. The men wear strips of cloth wound horizontally around their bodies and tied together rather than sewn. The women wear dresses made of a large sheet of fabric with an opening in the centre for the head. Each dress typically uses two or three pieces of thin silk. Men and women all wear their hair loose and go barefoot.

They also have Chinese books, such as the Five Classics and the Collected Works of Bai Letian (Bai Juyi (also Bo Juyi or Po Chü-i; 772–846 AD). They acquired copies of all of these from the Central Lands. Their soil is suited to growing grains, but wheat is scarce. They use copper coins with the inscription "Qianwen Dabao," correct form "Kangen Daiho,"

They have water buffaloes, donkeys, sheep, rhinoceroses, and elephants. *[This is supposedly written due to clerical error; in fact, there were no water buffaloes, donkeys, sheep, rhinoceroses, and elephants in Japan.]*

They also have gold, silver, fine silk, and patterned cloth. They have many shan (sugi) trees and luo trees that grow to a height of 140 to 150 feet, with trunks four or more feet in girth. The local people split them

into planks and use large ships to transport them here to Quanzhou for sale. But people of Quanzhou seldom go to their country.

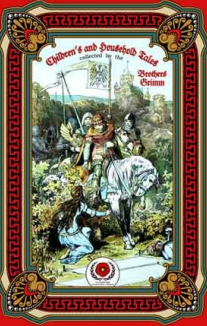
For [court] music, they have two kinds: one from the Central Lands and one from Goryeo. They use swords, shields, bows, and arrows with iron arrowheads. In archery their arrows do not fly far, and when asked the reason, they say it is because they are unused to war in their country. They have houses in which father, mother, and brothers all sleep in separate rooms. They eat from implements resembling our sacrificial vessels and do not use money or silk as betrothal gifts. They place their dead in coffins, but without an outer coffin, and their tombs consist of earthen mounds. At the beginning of mourning, they wail and weep and abstain from meat, but once the deceased is buried, the whole family goes for a bath in the river to purify itself from bad luck. In important matters, they divine the future by heating bones. They do not know how to measure the beginning of years and seasons but simply count a year from one harvest to the next. Their people tend to live long, typically up to eighty or ninety years. Their women are not sexually promiscuous or jealous. They do not have lawsuits. Severe crimes are punished by executing the offender's entire clan; light crimes are punished by enslaving his wife and children.

They pay their taxes in gold and silver. These are produced by Aozhou (Ōshū, i.e., Mutsu province) in the east and other islands.

This country has had contact with the Central Lands (China) since the Later Han (i.e., Eastern Han). Throughout the Wei, Jin, Liu-Song, Sui, and Tang dynasties, it sent envoys to present tribute. In the first year of the Yongxi era (984) in our dynasty, a Buddhist monk from this country, Diaoran (Chōnen), arrived by sea with five or six disciples. He presented more than ten bronze vessels, all of exquisite workmanship, to our court. Taizong invited him to an audience and had him lodged in the Taiping Xingguo Temple. He presented Diaoran with a purple monk's robe and treated him very generously. Upon hearing that a single royal dynasty had ruled this country for its entire history, and that the ministers were all hereditary, he sighed with wonder and said to his chief ministers Song Qi and Li Fang: "These people are only island barbarians, yet they have maintained a single dynasty for this long, and their ministerial posts, too, have been passed down through generations of the same families. That is the way of the ancients!" That a country of island barbarians could stir such a sigh of admiration in Taizong was surely due to the lingering legacy of Taibo using Chinese ways to change the barbarians, was it not? *[In the Songshi version, Taizong goes on to claim that his efforts at achieving good governance are meant to ensure that the Song dynasty will endure forever and with it, the fortunes of its senior ministers' families. "Using Chinese ways to change the barbarians" was a standard ethnocentric term for a "civilising" process of "Sinicisation," taken from Mencius 3A.4: "I have heard of using Chinese ways to change the*

barbarians, but never of Chinese ways being changed by those of the barbarians." The term "Chinese ways" is still used in China today.]

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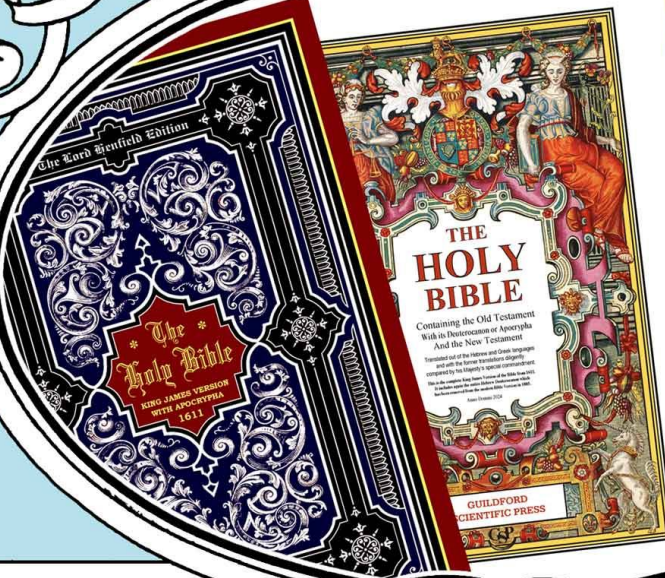
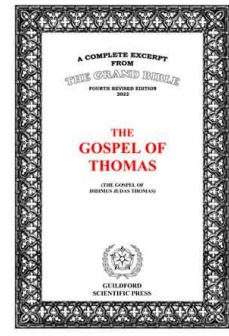
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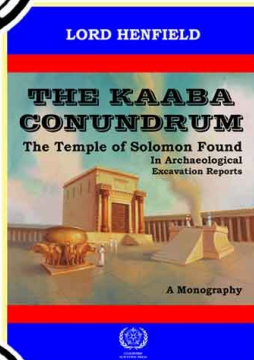
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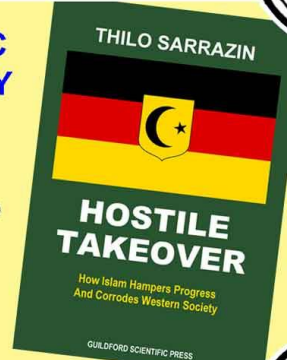


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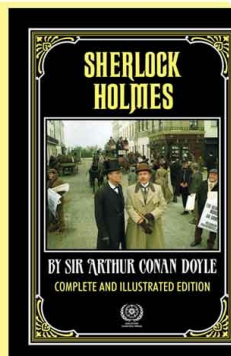
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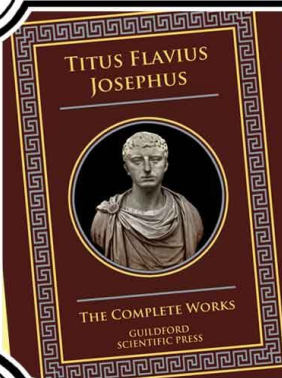
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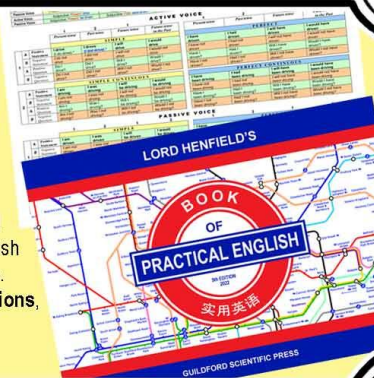
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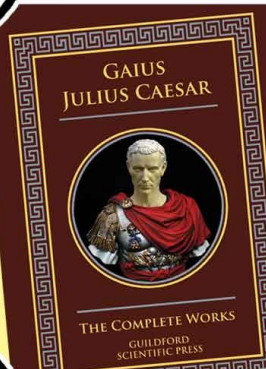
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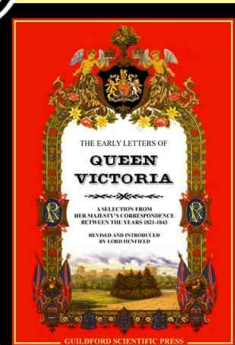
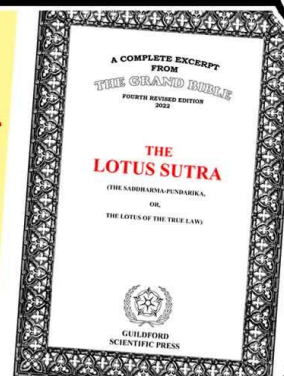
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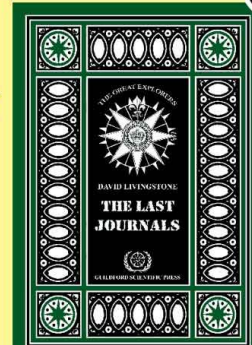
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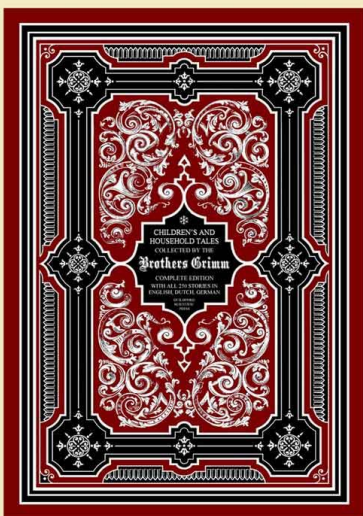
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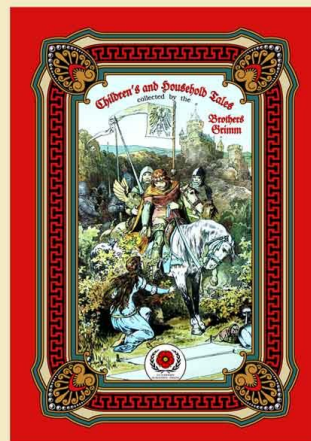
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